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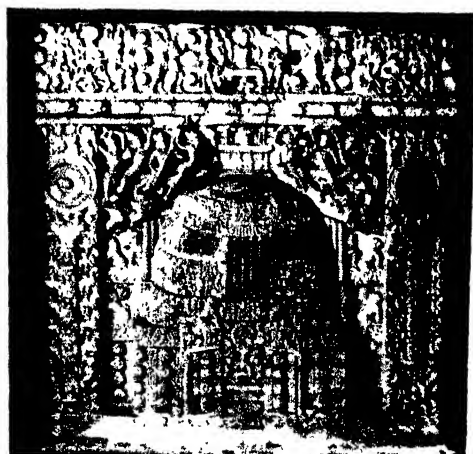


# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY:

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[Part 2.



*Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.*

1930

RAJAHMUNDY

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# JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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## HISTORY OF THE VELNADU CHIEFS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.), M.R.A.S.

These chiefs played a prominent part in the history of Telugu country for about a century between A. D. 1080—1186. Their importance lies in the fact that they held the Telugu country from the southern banks of the Godavari down to Nellore from the time of the accession of Kulōttunga and handed over the sovereignty of the country to the Kākatiyas of Warangal. Thus they form a link between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Kākatiyas in the history of the Telugu country.

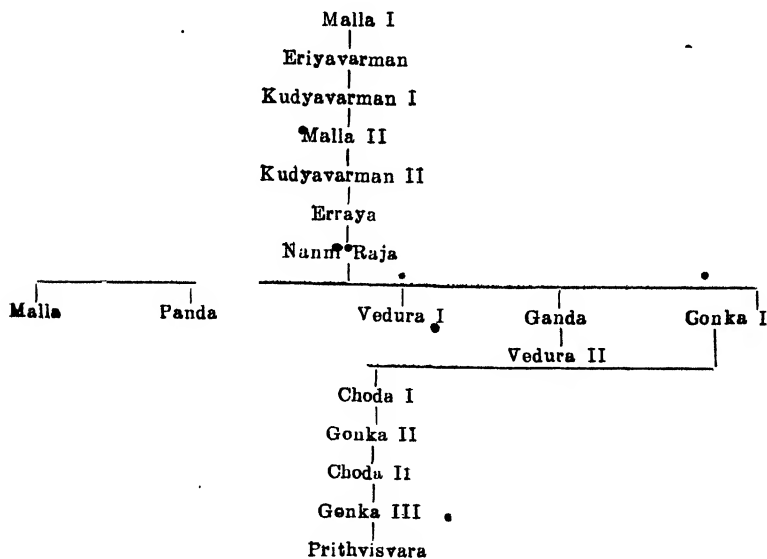
EARLY ANCESTRY:—Like many other dynasties, the Velnāḍu chiefs trace their ancestry from super-human beings. The following gods figure in it.<sup>1</sup>

Vishṇu.  
|  
Brahma.  
|  
Chandra.  
|  
Budha.

<sup>1</sup> No. 736 of *S. I. I.* IV,

The Pithāpuram pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> supplies the names of the ancestors of the family. The first person Indrasēna is said to have been adopted by Yudhishtira and ruled at Kirtipura in the Madhyadēsa. After an interval of unspecified duration came Kirtivarman I. after another came Mallavarman, his son Rāṇa Durjaya I., his son Kirtivarman II., his son Rāṇa Durjaya II. and his son Kirtivarman III. It is not possible to locate this Kirtipura. Kirtivarman is distinctly a Western Chālukyan name while Rāṇadurjaya sounds more like a title. It may not be wrong if we suppose that the ancestors of this family might have migrated from the west into the Telugu Country either during or in the wake of the invasions of Pulikeśin II. and the establishment of the Vēngi branch of the Chālukyan House. The names of these early ancestors indicate it. Kirtivarman III's son was Malla I. who having helped Trilōchana Pallava obtained possession of the Six Thousand country.<sup>3</sup> The first reliable historical person of this family seems to be Meliya or

2 The following is the geneology of the Volnadu chiefs. The geneology will be discussed at full length in a separate paper See *Ep. Ind.* IV. 35; *Ep. Ind.* IV. 270.



3

చతుర్ధవంశ శ్రీమద్రాజవంశీ  
 వంశస్థిన్ ..... శ్రీమల్లభూపాలజిని  
 యేనత్రింబక పల్లవాద్రణ శిరిస్సాహాయ్యకారాధితాత్  
 పాప్రాయం వెనాండు నామః పయస్సాయంత చిహ్నైస్సహా॥

S. I. I., IV. No 1141.

Malla II.<sup>4</sup>, who was a follower and vassal of the Eastern Chālukyan king Chālukya Bhima II. From this time the Velnādu Chiefs rise to prominence under the succeeding Chālukyan rulers of Vēngi as generals and ministers. Eriya or Eriyavarman was a servant of Vishṇuvardhana who is perhaps identical with Tālarāja (A.D. 970). Kuḍyavarman II. was a subordinate of Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011—1022) and ruled over the district of Gudrahāra as a vassal.<sup>5</sup> Nannirāja, his grandson according to one source and brother according to another, was a general of the great Rājarāja, the patron of the Telugu poet Nannaya. The death of Rājarāja made remarkable changes in the history of both the Chālukyan and the Velnādu families.

RISE TO POWER. Soon after the death of Rājarāja, there was chaos in the Vēngi country. His brother Vijayāditya usurped the throne and drove away Rājendra the heir-apparent. At this juncture Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukyan monarch invaded Vēngi and subjugated the usurper. Mean while the dispossessed prince gathered forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on his uncle but pardoned him. The Chōla king Rājendradēva died at this time and the young prince set his eyes on the Chōla throne. Having reinstated his uncle as viceroy of Vēngi, Rājendra went to the south, and after strenuous fighting ascended the throne in A.D. 1070 under the title of Kulottunga I. Vijayāditya died in A.D. 1077 and from that date the Emperor was sending his sons as viceroys to Vēngi.<sup>6</sup> This afforded a splendid opportunity for the rise of the Velnādu Chieftains. As generals and ministers of these viceroys, they were the *de facto* sovereigns in Vēngi. From the time of Vikrama Chōla even this system of sending viceroys was discontinued and the Velnādu Chiefs were free.

During the second viceroyalty of Virachōḍa we hear that the Velnādu chief Vedura II. was his minister. By A.D. 1118 Vikramachōḍa the last of the viceroys left for the South. Taking advantage of this, Vikramaditya VI. invaded Vēngi and temporarily reduced the Velnādu chiefs to subjection. However, by 1124 Vikramachōḍa seems to have re-conquered it. Vedura II. mentioned above so pleased his overlord by defeating a Pāndyan king that Vikramachōḍa rewarded him with the over-lordship of the territory between the Godavari and the Krishna.<sup>7</sup>

4 No 1182 of S. I. I. IV,

5 Ep. Ind. IV, p. 32,

6 Viceroys over Veng under Kulottunga I.

Vijayaditya	1070—1077
Rajaraja	1077—1078
Virachoda	1078—1084
Rajaraja Choda Gangu	1084—1088
Virachoda	1088—1093
Vikramachoda	1093—1113

7 Ep. Ind. IV, p. 32



GONKA I., A.D. 1076—1117. Gonka is said to have rendered his overlord significant service in the field of war and got reaffirmed as ruler of the 6000 country.<sup>8</sup> He was an ardent devotee of Śiva a good patron of learning.<sup>9</sup> The *Keyarabāhucharitram* speaks highly of his valour and enlightenment as it does about the political skill of his minister Naṇḍūri Gōvindāmātya. Prōlināyaka was the governor of Dharanī-kōṭa under Gonka I.<sup>10</sup>

CHODA I., A.D. 1117—1132. Gonka I. was succeeded by his son Chōḍa I. who is variously known as Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōḍa or Chōḍa Rāja. During the last days, the emperor Kulōttunga is said to have adopted Chōḍa I. and treated him as his own son and confirmed on him the rulership of Vēngi. From the *Keyarabāhu charitram* we know that his minister was Kommana son of Gōvindāmātya, his father's minister. Another of his ministers was a certain Nārāyaṇa. This king is said to have had nine lakhs of money, ninety nine sturdy elephants and four thousand swift horses. It is important to note that the Western Chālukyan invasion of Vēngi and its subsequent reconquest by Vikrama-chōḷa took place in this reign.<sup>11</sup> The Velnāḍu chief came into conflict with the Telugu Chōḍas for the first time in the reign of Chōḍa I, for one of his subordinates—Kāpa of Tūmbaṅṅu—claims to have defeated a Siddhi Bēta.<sup>12</sup> A chieftain of that name appears in the Telugu Chōḍa geneology as Bēta I. We also notice for the first time that the Maṇḍādi chiefs were vassals of the Velnāḍu rulers.

GONKA II., A.D. 1132—1163, Gonka II. succeeded his father Chōḍa I. He was the most independent and glorious member of the family. He

- 8 వీరశైవ్య శ్రీకృష్ణామృతం చోడ.....రాజరాజాశ్రయస్య॥  
సంగ్రామసాహాయ్య సుకుప్తైతత్వాత్ శ్రీరాజరాజప్రభవాస్యవీరిః॥  
యష్టత్సాప్రావని నుండలాధి పత్యం సమాసాద్య చిరంభువన్తి॥

S. I. I., IV. No 1164. 82

- 9 మల్లస్వానే త్తేమక రాసునాంకిః గొంఱోవిద్యత్పంకజాభీమృగాంకిః॥

S. I. I., IV. No. 1165.

10 List of Antiquities p. 64. No. 6.

11 This was in or about A. D. 1120. Inscriptions from Draksharama prove that the Western Chalukyas were in the Vengi country between A. D. 1120—1124 Nos. 331, 207 & 258 of 1893, S. I. I. vol. IV.

12 No. 441 of 1918. This identification of Siddhi Bēta with Beta I and the theory of rivalry between the Telugu Cholas and the Velnadu line is supported by No. 143 of 897 which mentions a title of Choda I. as—“చోడికక్షితిపతి పాళరాచనామంకితః” which literally means ‘one whose name was engraved on the wall of the Chola King.’ The Chola referred to could not be the Chola Emperor because Choda I. was his vassal and adopted son. Hence this title should only indicate a defeat inflicted by Choda I. on the Telugu Chodas.

extended his territory widely, and had an excellent system of administration. In this reign the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs became vassals of the Velnāḍu family.<sup>13</sup> A Drākshārāma record enumerating Gonka's titles,<sup>14</sup> suggests that perhaps he was also at war with the Telugu Chōḍas to the south of his dominions. Inscriptions and the *Kēyārabāhucharithram* are agreed in telling us that Kommana son of Nandūri Govindāmātya was the minister and *Sandhivigrahin* of Gonka and one of the mainstays of his kingdom.<sup>15</sup> Kommiseṭṭi a *Śenādhipati* made many charities to the Bāpaṭla temple<sup>16</sup> while another officer of the king built the Ballis'vara temple at Kotyadona the capital of the Telugu Chōḍas.<sup>17</sup> This shows the extent of Gonka's influence over the Telugu Chōḍa chieftains. Isāna preggāḍa, a brahmin minister is said to have built the Surēśvara temple at Kārempūdi.<sup>18</sup> His other charities are brought to light by an inscription at Pedakodamagundla which tells us that he endowed the taxes of *Perunjunka* and *Vaddarāvula* on the local temple for the maintenance of students and ascetics.<sup>19</sup> Two generals *Dandanāyaka* Paṇḍa the maternal uncle of the king and *Dundanāyaka* Chōḍa the "marandi" or brother-in-law of the king, were very active in the reign of Gonka. Chōḍā's son was the general Gonka who is said to have defended the town of of Kroccheruvu against the attacks of Karnāṭa cavalry numbering 30,000. Commenting upon this incident Epigraphists say,—"This was a period of decline for the Western Chālukyas of Kalyan. Taila III died in A.D. 1163 and his successor Sōmēśvara IV, was a weak ruler. The entire power was in the hands of the general Bijjala. The fight at Kroccheruvu must have been with the armies of Bijjala and probably in alliance with the Kākatiyas of Anumakoṇḍa who were just then shaking off the Western Chālukyan yoke."<sup>22</sup> This opinion seems to be untenable in the light of the facts of contemporary history. Even during the life time of Taila III, many of his feudatories rebelled against his authority. According to Bhandarkar, "Bijjala conceived the idea of usurping the throne of his master and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful semi-independent chiefs.—Vijayārka the *Mahāmāṇḍalesvara* of Kōlhāpur was one of those who assisted him and Prōlarāja of the Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, probably did so to advance the same cause"<sup>23</sup> and thereby seek his own elevation. Dr. Fleet also confirms this alliance between the Kākatiyas and the Kalachuryas. This refutes the theory of the Velnāḍu chiefs allying with the Kākatiyas and that against the Kalachuryas. It is possible further to

13. No. 716 of 1921. 14. No. 675 of S. I. I. IV. 15. Ins. Madras Presy. Gt. 59.

16. No. 163 of 1899. 17. No. 175 of 1897. 18. Ins. Mad. Presy. Gt. 522.

19. Ibid. Gt. 564.

20. No. 664 of 1921 S. I. I. IV No. 1069

21. No. 658 of 1920. 22. Ep. Rep. for 1921, Pt. II.

23. Early History of the Dekkan. p. 222.

prove that the Kākatiyas did not only never side the Velnāḍu line but on the contrary were enemies of those chiefs. The Anumakonda inscription of Prōla<sup>24</sup> shows that "Prōla extended his military operations into the modern Krishna District as well ... ..

Udaya or Chōḍōdaya whom Prōla first defeated but afterwards reinstated is to be connected with Kulottungachōḍa Gonka of Velnāḍu "according to Dr. Hultzsch. Who then were the Karnāṭa forces with whom the general Gonka fought. A number inscriptions of the time of Gonka II mention that he fought with Western Chālukyan forces and one of them clearly states that the Kuntala forces led by the general Gōvinda and Lakshmaṇa were defeated by Gonka on the banks of the Godavari.<sup>25</sup> From the Anumakonda inscription it is known that *Dandanāyaka* Gōvindarasa was governing Kondapalli in A.D. 1126. Probably the engagement Kroccheruvu preceded that in which Gonka II took part and drove away the Western Chālukyas.

A number of records mention Gonka as "Lord of 480 villages"<sup>26</sup>. Probably this was the original principality of the Velnāḍu chiefs which later on they expanded. Gonka II. is said to have defeated the rule of Lāṭa Marāṭa, and Kuntala<sup>27</sup> and had many grandiloquent titles.<sup>28</sup> He was an ardent śaivite and placed golden pinnacles on the temple of Bhīmanātha of Drākshārāma.<sup>29</sup> He was the greatest of the Velnāḍu rulers and in his time the dominion of the Velnāḍu line reached its utmost. It is said that Vikramachōḷa's son conferred on him the chieftainship of all the country between Śrī Śailam and the Mahēndra hill<sup>29</sup> while another source tells us that his realm reached Kālahasti. Some of his records are found even at Tripurāntakam.

<sup>24</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX p.

<sup>25</sup> ..... గోదావరీపర్యంతం ||  
 పార్వతీశక్తుని దేవతాపూజనం గోవిందవంశాధిపతి ||  
 జితవంశీకులభూతిశక్తిం విజృంభింశ్చ శ్రీయంత్యుపరాజ ||

*S. I. I.*, IV\* No. 1182.

<sup>26</sup> No. 945 & 655 of 1921.

<sup>27</sup> పార్వతీశక్తుని దేవతాపూజనం గోవిందవంశాధిపతి ||

*S. I. I.*, IV No. 1137.

<sup>28</sup> The following are some of the titles of Gonka II.

స్వస్తిపరుధిగత ప: చమనాశక్తుమహా మండలేశ్వర విరమాపేశ్వర వాళుగ  
 రాజ్యభవన మూల సంధ ..... చక్రవర్తివనవమాండల చల  
 మ రికండ శ్రీశక్తిేశ్వర పట్టమా పార్వతీవాధ .....  
 ..... శివరామేశ్వర ..... నామాది సమస్త పర  
 శక్తిసహిత శ్రీగుప్తమా మండలేశ్వర వెలనాటి గొంకయ

*Ins. of the Mad. Presy.* Kt. 1028.

<sup>29</sup> *Ep. Ind.* IV p. 32.

CHODA II. A. D. 1163-1181 son and successor of Gonka II. was the last of the great chieftains of the Velnādu family. In spite of numerous foreign invasions, Chōḍa managed to retain his ancestral dominion in tact and made further additions to it. In his time the Kōṇa country was conquered and annexed to his dominion.<sup>31</sup> By defeating and killing Bhīma of the Kolanu family, he removed one source of danger for the continuance of his power. Besides Vira Rājendra Chōḍa the Kōṇa chief,<sup>32</sup> the Maṇḍādi chiefs were also the subordinates of Chōḍa II.<sup>33</sup> The names of some of his ministers and officials like Dēvaṇaṇḍa, Vāṣanaṇḍa, Sōmanaṇḍa and Errapa Nāyaka, are to be known from inscriptions. Chōḍa had three queens called Gonkamāmba, Paṇḍāmba and Akkāmbika. Of these the last was a princess of the Konḍapaḍmaṭi family.

Still, disruptive tendencies made their appearance in the reign. The first attempt at independence on the part of the Kōlanu chiefs was put down, and a matrimonial alliance removed possible dangers from the side of the Konḍapaḍmaṭi line. A third enemy were the Telugu Chōḍas. Under the leadership of Kannaradēva Chōḍa of the Konḍena line, they manifested a rebellion. A family of loyal and valiant generals rose to the occasion and saved the Velnādu line from destruction at this juncture. These were three generals in the service of Chōḍa II. called Jellaya, Nāraya and Sūraya. The former defeated Kannaradēva Chōḍa. More serious than any of the menaces mentioned above was the Kākatiya invasion of the Velnādu country. It has been mentioned already that Kākati Prōla's son and successor Rudra was a great warrior and made many fresh conquests. According to the Anumakonḍa inscription, the empire of Rudra touched Śrī Sailam in the South. It has also been mentioned before that Gonka II's dominions reached up to Śrī Sailam and Tripurāntakam. The Anumakonḍa record of A.D. 1162 makes these two places the boundaries of the Kākatiya empire. Evidently the Tripurāntakam region must have been conquered by Rudra some time before A.D. 1162. This must have happened, therefore, immediately before the reign of Chōḍa II. (A.D. 1163-1181). Thus the loss of the Tripurāntakam region marked the first step in the break up of the Velnādu dominion.

There is great confusion in the chronology and the geneology of the Velnādu line after Chōḍa II. According to the *Keṭṭurabāhucharithram* Prithviśvara was the son of Chōḍa. But the Piṭhāpūram Pillar inscription introduces a Gonka between Chōḍa and Prithviśvara. Thus the former denies the identity of Gonka III. The latest date of Chōḍa II.

30. శ్రీమాన్విక్రమ చోడదేవతనయో యస్మైప్రభుస్త్రితః॥

చాగ్రదాదానీ—ను హేంద్ర కిషిర శ్రీశైలయోగ్యధ్యక్షః॥

. 31. No. 1083 of S.I.I., IV, 32. No. 218 of 1897. 33. No. 1365 of S.I.I., IV.

is S. 1103 or A. D. 1186. If a chieftain of the name of Gonka III. existed at all his rule must be placed between A. D. 1181 and 1186. The identity of Gonka III. is proved by the following inscriptions.

No. 181 of 1897 mentioning a Chōḍā Gonka mahārāja, the son of Akkama Mahādēvi.<sup>34</sup> No. 247 of 1897 dated S. 1092 mentioning Kulōtunga Gonka.

No. 257 of 1897 mentioning that the mother of Keta II. of the Kōṭa family was a sister of Gonka III.

Thus Gonka III. seems to have been the son and successor of Chōḍā II. No. 247 of 1897, dated A.D. 1170 mentioning Gonka III. falls within the reign of Chōḍā II. This proves that Chōḍā II and his son Gonka were ruling conjointly between A.D. 1170 and 1181, and that from A.D. 1181 to 1186 Gonka ruled independently.

GONKA III. (A.D. 1181-1186) had a brief but eventful and disastrous reign. Compared with the regnal periods of his ancestors (41, 15, 31, 18) that of Gonka III seems to be remarkably brief. From the Piṭhāpūraṁ Pillar inscription we learn that Gonka's wife of Jayambika of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi family. No. 347 of 1916 mentions that another wife of his Kāmāmbikā or Kamidēvi.

DISSOLUTION OF THE VELNADU KINGDOM. The termination of Gonka's reign after a brief period of five years seems to have been due to same influences. His son and successor Prithviśvara ruled from Piṣṭapura on the other side of the Godavari. Evidently both these events were connected. An investigation into the contemporary history throws much light on these two allied problems.

34 This record and the Pithapuram Pillar inscription prove beyond doubt the existence and identity of Gonka III, while one reveals the names of his wife and son, the other mentions the name of his mother, and it is known that Akkama was the wife of Choda II. Thus these two records give.

Choda II—Akkama.

↓  
Gonka III.

↓  
Prithviśvara.

## • STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR POLITY.

K. ISVARA DUTT, B.A.  
(Local Fund Audit Department.)

Continued from page 20 above.

### His Proprietor-ship in Land.

One of the writers have confidently asserted that the property in the soil according to the Hindu view always vested in the Hindu sovereign." The fact on the other hand is, that this is exactly the reverse of the Hindu theory on the subject. "Inscriptions proving to the hilt, the private property in the soil are extant," says Jayaswal in his monumental work on the Hindu Polity.<sup>10</sup> That it is a fact, is proved by the innumerable epigraphs of the period. The provincial governors and their subordinates<sup>11</sup>, and the private persons owning landed property, grant villages and lands for the benefit of the deities and brahmins.<sup>12</sup> The person who owns the landed property has the right of disposing of the land, at his will and pleasure except perhaps in the case of inam lands. The Tiruppak khuli Inscription of Dēvarāya II. registers the interesting fact that the lands concerned which were service Inams were neither to be sold or mortgaged by the parties concerned and also that whoever sold or mortgaged the land would suffer the punishment that the traitors to the King and community would suffer in addition to the fine.<sup>13</sup> Two interesting forms of alienation exhibiting the practice which prevailed in the sale of private landed property are given in an appendix to this chapter.

### Powers of Resumption and Reassessment

Two interesting epigraphs indicate the inherent powers of the monarch to resume the *Devādāya* and *Brahmādāya* lands originally granted. An epigraph of the time of Śrī Krishna Dēva Rāya registers that the *Devādāya* and *Brahmādāya* lands under a tank in the *Penugonda rājya* which had been rent-free (*Sarva-mānya*) from the time Chikka Odeyalu had been re-assessed on account of some disturbances in the interval.<sup>14</sup> During the time of Saḍāśiva Rāya, a certain Aḷiya-Lingārāja renewed the

<sup>10</sup> *Hindu Polity* p. 174

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Carn.* vol. III, M.L. 95, S.R. 139. *Ep. No.* 87 of 1912, *Ep. No.* 97 of 1913. *Ep. Ind.* vol. III page 21 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV. *Kondavidu Inscr.* Nos. 165 of 1913,

<sup>12</sup> Nos. 25 of 1915, 347 of 1912, 525 of 1906, 251 of 1906 etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Rep.* of 1916 para 60.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep. No.* 100 of 1913.

grant of a village previously made by Śrī Krishnarāya. During the time of Achyuta Rāja, the village had apparently been resumed through the "mischievous of mean-minded men"<sup>15</sup>

### Prime Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

The King is always assisted in his counsels by a chief or a Prime Minister who is called in the epigraphs *mahāpradhāna*. The term *mahāpradhāna* appears in the inscriptions of Bukka I. for the first time. The *mahāpradhānas* of Bukka I. were "Nāganna Danāik",<sup>16</sup> "Malleya. Danāik",<sup>17</sup> Gōpatasa,<sup>18</sup> and Anantarasar.<sup>19</sup> The *mahāpradhāna* of Kāmpana was Sōmappa,<sup>20</sup> Muddappa was holding the same post under Harihara II.<sup>21</sup> Nāgappa. Danāik was the *mahāpradhāna* of Dēvanaya I.<sup>22</sup> Śālva Timma was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Vira Narasimha Rāja and Śrī Krishnarāya<sup>23</sup> Bācharasu was the prime minister of Achutaraya.

### Duties of the Ministers and relations with the King.

The principal duty of the Prime Minister is to advise the King both in peace and war, and invariably he is the generalissimo of the forces of the King. In all the above inscriptions, the additional title of 'Dannāik' or 'Dandanātha' is mentioned. Next to the monarch, the principal executive officer of the state, is the Prime Minister. We know from the Konḍaviḍu inscription that Śālva Timma led the forces against the Gajapati foe and won the day. It may be mentioned that the relations between the King and the Prime minister were always cordial.<sup>24</sup> We find them making grants to the temples and the Brahmins for the benefit or the religious merit of one another.<sup>25</sup>

As the inscriptions tell us, they are also the governors of provinces exercising their own authority over that part of the Empire, like any other provincial governor enjoying the privileges attached to the post. Paes gives an account of how the Prime Minister of the day was revered. "Salvatinica (Śālva Timma) who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the King and made him King and so the King looks on him like as father. Whenever the King calls to him, he addresses him as Lord Śālva Timma and all the Captains and nobles of the realm make Salaam to him."<sup>26</sup> Such was the privilege and power enjoyed by the Prime Minister.

15 *Ep. No.* 52 of 1901.

17 *Ep. Coll.* No. 132.

19 *Ep. Carn.* vol. XII p. 92.

21 *Ep. Carn.* vol. V B.L.

23 *Ep. No.* 342 of 1892 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 109.

24 *Ep. No.* 186 of 1897... This epigraph says that the bodies of Timmarasu and Krishnaraya are one.

25 *Madras Inscriptions* vol. 11, *Ongole* 398.

26 *Forgotten Empire*, p. 268.

16 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IX D.V. 29.

18 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IV C.H. 113.

20 *Ep. Coll.* No. 523 of 1906.

22 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X M.B. 7.

### Powers of Appointment.

Perhaps with the consent of the monarch, the 'prime minister possessed the power of appointing provincial governors. According to the Mangalagiri inscription,<sup>27</sup> we learn that Nādinḍla Gōpa, nephew and son-in-law of the Śāluva Timma, Prime Minister, was appointed as the governor of the *Kondavīdu rājyam* by the Prime Minister himself.

### Deputy Ministers.

The prime ministers had the powers of appointing 'Upa-pradhānas' or the Deputy Ministers. Śāluva Timmarasu appears to have had an assistant (Upa-Pradhāna) in the person of Sōmarasa, son of Mēlamantri of Chandragiri.<sup>28</sup>

### Qualifications for a Prime Minister

The qualifications for a Prime Minister are laid down by Śrī Krishṇarāya, which have already been quoted.

### The Office of the Prime Minister.

The office of the Prime Minister ceased to exist at any rate from the death of Achyutarāya. During his reign the gradual exit of the brahmins from the political arena, due to the enormous influence wielded by the brothers-in-law of the Emperor, led to the extinction of the office itself. The days of the brahmin rule were numbered and by the time Rāmarāya was at the helm of affairs and steering the ship of state, through stress and storm of political intrigues, against the bed-rock of Mohomadan confederation on which it finally wrecked, the influence of Brahmin was completely wiped out. Rāmarāya was also credited with the anti brahmin feeling.<sup>29</sup>

जामाता भून्महीपालः रामराय इति मृतः ।

ब्रह्मणानां गुरुणां च नित्यं मप्रियमावतोत् ॥

*Mahī-sura-narapati vijayam*

### Ministers.

In the first chapter while discussing the appointment of viceroys to the various provinces in the Empire, the nature of the office and their position in the polity has been described. In an other chapter, we have narrated the qualities of the head, heart and hand. The minister under the Vijayanagar combined in himself the role of soldier, statesman and a scholar.<sup>30</sup>

Some of the political precepts laid down by Śrī Krishṇa Dēvarāya for the guidance of a reigning monarch in the daily administration

<sup>27</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI 109.

<sup>28</sup> *Ep. No.* 3 of 1897

<sup>29</sup> *Mys. Archl. Rep.* 1907 para 51.

<sup>30</sup> Sources of Vijayanagar History, pages 48 49 51 52 62 etc.



of the kingdom, and also the important principles adumbrated by him in the selection of ministers, are quoted below from *Amuktamālyada*.

#### King.

V. 219. 'A king should first establish his power in his territory either being in terms of affected friendship with his enemies or relying on his land and water-defences (fortifications). After this without external fear, he should set about rooting out the internal enemies of his kingdom, just as a farmer first lays out the boundaries of his field and constructing fencing all round, softens the soil by digging up with the spade and removing the roots and stones in the ground.

V. 240. 'A king can find out three parts out of four of all the affairs of the state. He can find out the fourth part that has been concealed from him, through his favourites and friends. If, with a mind full of the knowledge of polity, he is free from anger and is not very vindictive in his punishment of people who try to bring danger upon him, such a king can rule for a long time.

V. 248. 'Collecting money by oppressing the subjects, taking the counsel of worthless people, allowing one's territory to be annexed by others,—an able king should see that these things exist only with his enemies. When his enemy king is suspicious of his own feudatories and when they are suffering from his oppression, a king should encourage the latter and gratify them by presents of jewels and ornaments.

V. 252. 'Cruel punishments, want of discrimination with regard to flimsy charges, pressing an enemy without giving him an opportunity to come to terms, ruining (plundering) a foreigner who goes to him after seeing the wrongs in other states, doing things so as to be plain to the enemy's ministers, mixing much with the people knowing that they are not favourably disposed to him, looking with estrangement on men who can be relied upon, admitting too many into counsel as a result of their flattery, neglecting to punish a concillor, who reveals the secret counsels, not looking about carefully for remedies when any strange mishap happens, not caring for (looking towards) worthy people, associating with bad people getting addicted to the *vyasanas* (intense desires) and obstinacy,—all these should never be with a king.

V. 254. 'A king should increase the jealousies among the lords and warriors under him. Then their actions good or bad, can never be concealed. In trying to get over each other and become famous they will not entertain any idea of treachery to the sovereign.

V. 259. 'A king should freely converse in his court with the ambassadors from the kings of neighbouring states and speak to them about administration and war to understand their situation. He should so speak about administration and war that his followers may

understand his point. What his counsellors say through attachment, the king should not take as offence.

V. 261 'That king can lay his head on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as master of his fortresses such Brahmins as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, and who makes arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese (?) (Telugu: *Pulijunnu*)<sup>31</sup> and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*Sāmantas*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who increases his treasury by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches the fish, who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies.

V. 270. 'A king should rule collecting round him people skilled in state-crafts, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes from his people moderately, should counteract the acts of enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects, should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, should always try to increase the merit of the Brahmins, should strengthen his fortresses and lesson the growth of the undesirable things and should be ever mindful of the purification (?) of his cities and thus strengthen himself and increase his longevity just as a man strengthens his own body and increases his longevity by consulting good doctors, by learning the properties of the seven *dhātus* and taking medicines compounded with gold and other minerals, by taking food so as to suit his constitution by seeing that wind (*Vāta*) does not accumulate in his body, by regular anointments, by the nourishment of all parts by counteracting the change of the colour of the skin and the hair turning grey, by seeing that the teeth are firm, by seeing that the arms and similar parts grow and other parts like the stomach do not grow, by cleansing the system so as to increase its vitality.

V. 284. 'You should not think that ruling a kingdom is a sin and get embarrassed as to how to get rid of the sin. The scriptures do not ordain any impossible thing. Therefore you should rule the kingdom to the best of your ability.

<sup>31</sup> *Pulijunnu* is a poetical expression, used commonly to denote very rare commodities. Here the idea is that even the rarest delicacies should be provided for the fortress. Ed.

## Ministers.

V. 211. "If a Brahmin who is a scholar, who is afraid of *adharma*, who is well-versed in *rājanīti* and who is between the ages of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the king has come down from previous generations and who is not conceited, accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business, would it take more than a day for the *angas* (constituents of royalty) of such a king to increase?"

Vv. 212 and 213. "In the absence of such a minister if a king is not contented with ruling himself to the best of his genius according to the *Science of Polity* and with the help of a strong army and a full treasury, and has recourse to a minister who is devoid of virtues, the minister would prove a source of trouble like the pearl of the size of pumpkin and the king would ultimately find himself in the hands of that minister.

V. 227. "In the council when one officer proposes a particular course another would object to it as unsuitable through mere spite of the former. The king should discover their individual motives and without denying the statement of either should close the council and then follow the course proposed by the first councillor, without spite.

V. 229. "They make the king give (offices and presents) only to their favourites (people in their control) and make him dismiss from service others. They make it impossible for the king to act according to his own promise; thus dissuade others from joining the king's service by making him appear as a promise-breaker and not true to his own word.

V. 230. "Just as when the keen appetite of a person loses its keenness on account of the predominance of phlegm and other causes an external medicine strengthens it, if an able new officer is appointed in the old one's place he would destroy the conceit (power) of the former.

V. 231. "The method of bringing in a new minister to destroy the influence of the old is thus.

V. 232. "When the treasury and the forces of cavalry and elephants are under his control in the stables, will not the machinations of bad ministers vanish before a king who is at the same time a scholar (intelligent man) and a hero.

V. 265. "Kings would consult a councillor whose counsel suits them on one or two occasions. By such constant consultation by the king and by receiving presents from him he gets conceited and advises the king to undertake unnecessary things. In that case the king ought to have a watch over the actions of the councillor through his spies." 32

32 The translation of these stanzas, as published in a small pamphlet entitled 'Political precepts of Sri Krishnaraya' by my friend Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati Assistant Epigraphist, are adopted in this chapter.

## APPENDIX.

## TWO INTERESTING DOCUMENTS OF ALIENATION.

I give here two specimens of forms of alienation, from the epigraphs available. The epigraphs give details of the practice of sale of private landed property and the forms of document executed, at that time.

## 1. A Tamil Inscription at Conjeevaram.

It begins with the usual invocations and recites that it was written during the Government (probably provincial) of Bukkana Odeyar and Vira Kambana Odeyar after the *Sahabdam* a year of Śālivāhana 1222, in the year of the Hindu cycle *Plava* A. D. 1301, the sun being in the sign of Aqarius, in the first fortnight of the moon, on the 11th day, being Thursday under nakshatra of Pūnūr Pūsham.

In the land of victory, Chōlamanḍalam, then follows a detail, showing the division, the township and the quarter of township, '*Modeliar Nacheyar*' otherwise called '*Yellanatalayal*', daughter of Tomoondi Achache the slave of Perumal among the *Dāsicul* (dancing women) announced 'of my own consent my own '*Canyatchi*' two *manas* situated'..... Here follows a detailed account of boundaries the property being a small patch in the town. "The two pieces of ground of mine, in the midst of these four boundaries I consent to sell. Who will buy?" Thus she proclaimed, which being heard, then answered Ayapanaingar son of Coopanaingar of the tribe etc.... "If you sell at my price I will buy." Then the said woman and the purchaser Ayapanaingar both said, "We consent and agree for current money without blemish *panams* twenty seven"—These two grounds, with their groves tree, shrubs etc—, all these I have sold and having received the money without objection and have delivered my original bills of sale; there is no doubt with regard to the title of these grounds; if any doubt should occur, I will stand up and remove it. These grounds he may sell or grant in charity to any one and alienate at his pleasure and their price being fixed at auction at 27 *panams* which I have received without balance, they are hereby transferred to Ayyapanaingar, so on etc...with full consent by Nacheyar etc...in the presence of Aroolala Veejayaraman.

(Sd.) Aroolala Veejayaraman

*The Second Inscription.*

"In praise of the King Devaraya of Vijayanagara!"

When he was ruling the kingdom, in the year of the Kaliyoog 4517 of Śālivāhana 1349 after the year *Plava*; the 21st of *maasee*; the 5th of the increasing moon under the star Rogany, on that auspicious day was written this bill of sale.

1 See Wilks *History of Mysore* vol. I. pages 507—508

'In the land of victory Tondamaṇḍalam, (here follows subdivisions etc.) the village or township of Coommangalan situated etc...Moosoo Naig son of Audiappa Nalk of the caste etc...who resides in the village of Velloda, situated near the said Coommangalam he and his relations: Om! Agreed and proclaimed "The village of Velloda, half of which is my '*Canyatchi*,' will anybody buy my half village? These words being heard due answered in the *maṇḍalam*, in the said division and in the said *naad*. Cota-Perria-Broomo Setty of the village of Wopanalakam of the Vysya caste, he and his kindred with their consent answered, 'we will buy.' Then said parties (repeating their names) agreed and fixed the price in the presence of the Brahmins of 'Coommangalam' at 125 new *Varāha* (pagodas) Then follows the measurement of land. We have sold our part and received in consideration or value fixed. This is the price; twice; thrice; the said '*Canyatchi*' of ours, you may enjoy while the Sun and Moon endure. "There is no doubt of the title of the said '*Canyatchi*'.

'In consequence of the agreement of Mooto Naig and his kindred with Cota Broomo Setty, we have thus confirmed it and granted this bill of sale of our *canyatchi* land.'

This is the hand writing of Mootonaig, of the village of Coommangalam. Subscribed by eight witnesses from the above recited and neighbouring villages.

## Chapter IX.

### THE BRAHMIN IN THE VIJAYANAGAR POLITY.

From the cradle to the grave the Empire was nurtured by the Brahmin. The Empire without the Brahmin was a watch without the mainspring, an engine without steam and a body without soul. A student of the Vijayanagar History will certainly understand from the valuable, both of epigraphical and literary evidence, we have the fortune to possess, that there was no branch of administration of the day and corner of the Empire in which the Brahmin did not play his part.

From epigraphical evidence, we know that the Brahmin sage and statesman of the day, Mādhava Vidyārya was the founder of the City of Vidyānagara or Vijyanagara<sup>1</sup> Not only was he the founder but also the political preceptor of the two adventurous brothers Harihara and Bukka. His brother Śāyaṇa and nephew Lakshmidhara were the ministers of prince Sāṅgama and Dēvarāya I.<sup>2</sup> Gōpana mantri, a great brahmin commander, was one of the generals of army under Kamparāya who led a successful expedition into the South.<sup>3</sup> Mādhava mantri was the ruler

1 *Nel. Ins. Kapalur Grant* pp.109-125. *Ep. Carn.* vol. XI C. L. 45 and 54.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Febr. 1916.

3 *A.S.R.* 1907-08 page 240.

of Vanavāsi under Harihararāya, Bukkarāya I. and Harihararāya II.<sup>4</sup> He conquered Goa from the Muhammadans and annexed the Konkanadēśa to the empire.<sup>5</sup> Jakkana, a Telugu poet mentions two Brahmin Ministers by name, Jannaya mantri and Chāmana mantri serving under Dēvarāya I., Coming down to the period of Vīra Narasimharāya and Śrī Krishnarāya<sup>6</sup> the whole empire was under the control of Sāluva Timma mantri the Prime Minister of both the kings. Not only did he hold the reins of the Empire in his hand but, also the important viceroalties of the day were distributed among his brother and nephews. Sāluva Timma was at first the viceroy at Konḍavidu and rose to be the Prime Minister.<sup>7</sup> His two nephews Appa mantri and Gōpana mantri served as viceroys at Konḍavidu. Timma's brother Gōvindarāja was viceroy at Gutti<sup>8</sup> and of Terkanambiyasima.<sup>9</sup> Afterwards he filled an important office of the Governor of the city at the capital of the empire according to Paes,<sup>10</sup> the Portuguese traveller. Rāyasam Konḍamarusayya, a great Brahmin general of the day was the viceroy at Udayagiri. Penugonḍa : he afterwards led the expedition against the Ruler of Kalinga and planted a Pillar of Victory at Sindhādri and Śrī Kūrinam. We know from the Konḍavidu inscriptions of Sāluva Timma that that fortress was captured by him. The Poet-laureate Peddanna was entrusted with the administration of a revenue division by Krishnarāya.<sup>11</sup>

Instances of this type may be multiplied, but all go to relate the same story, that the Brahmin both by his head and hand, served the empire faithfully. He was the trustworthy minister, faithful friend, poet-laureate, bosom companion and lastly, the valiant soldier of the king.

It is interesting to note in this connection, what Krishnadēvarāya says in his *Amuktamālāda* about the Brahmin.<sup>12</sup> (1) "Appoint Brahmins only as the commanders of the forts in the kingdom." (2) "The Brahmin who is born in a low family who lives in the suburbs of Śābaras, who is not proficient in Vedas etc., who is a liar and a treacherous fellow, who is not afraid of any scandal, who is not a native of the kingdom and who does not discharge his duties, may be dispensed with."<sup>13</sup> (3) "If a Brahmin who is proficient in *Śāstras*, who is afraid of doing injustice and well-versed in political science, whose age is below seventy and above fifty who is without any disease, whose ancestors are the faithful servants of the king, accepts the appointment of the Prime Minister at the request of the King, will not then, a half day be sufficient for the development of the *rājyāṅgas* (administration?)"<sup>14</sup>

4 *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII Shikarpur No. 281. and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II p. 2 and 6.

5 *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII No. 46.

6 *Vikramarka Charitramu* by Jakkana

7 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 284.

8 No. 340 of *Ep. col.* 1892.

9 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IV p. 25.

10 *Forgotten Empire* p. 284.

11 *Rept. South Ind Ep.* 1912 para 55 and *Ep. No.* 623 of 1915.

\* 12 *Canto v.* 207.

13 v. 209.

14 v. 211.

In this last verse, Krishnadeva evidently refers to his own Prime Minister, Śāluva Ṭimma, whose head had grown grey in the service of the Empire and who was the greatest minister, the bravest general, and the deepest scholar of the day.

Paes says "because although the King has many Brahmins, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the Government of theirs."<sup>15</sup>

Nuniz states: "They are honest men, very good as accountants lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work. By these, and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on."

### Chapter X.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

That the safety of person and property was entrusted to the viceroys under the Vijayanagar Kings, we have had the occasion to notice elsewhere. They were bound to make good the loss sustained by the people, on account of robbery.<sup>1</sup> This onerous responsibility was not mainly, shouldered by the viceroys, for they in their turn passed it on to their *Kāvalgars* (watchmen) "who had charge of groups of villages and controlled the *Talaiyāris* (Tel: *Talararis*) who were appointed to each village." These *Talaiyāris* still to continue to exist now under the name Village Headmen. They retain the old title, but do not do that duty, as it is now done by the Police.

"The *Talaiyāris* were paid in kind and coin and granted also lands free of rent. The *Kāvalgars* were, highly paid officials and granted payment as follows: (1) a village rent free or at a low quit rent, (2) a certain portion of rent free land in every village under their jurisdiction, (3) an allowance in grain upon each plough or upon the quantity of seed sown, (4) an allowance in money paid by husbandmen on ploughs and by tradesmen on houses, shops, and looms, (5) a small duty on goods passing through the country and (6) a similar duty levied at fairs and weekly markets on shroffs (?) (paid in money) and other dealers (paid in kind.)"

Nuniz gives a horrible picture of the Criminal Code of the day. The punishment inflicted on the ordinary criminal and the treacherous murderer, did not vary much. The punishment was retributive but not reformatory and if we trust the account of Nuniz, we may fairly imagine that there was no occasion for a prison cell, to lodge a criminal. Here is the account of Nuniz: "The punishments that they inflict in the Kingdom are these: For a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand and if this theft be a great one, he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin, he has the same punishment and if he does

<sup>15</sup> *Forgotten Empire* p. 245

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 390.

<sup>1</sup> *Bellary District Gazetteer* p. 187, and *Forgotten Empire* p. 380.

any other such violence, his punishment is of a little kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of lower orders—for whatever crime they commit, he (the King) forthwith commands their heads to be cut off in the market place, and the same for murder unless the death was the result of a duel.

These are the common kinds of punishments but they have others more fanciful, for when the King desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him, that if you told a man, on the part of the King, that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it"<sup>2</sup>

The system of criminal investigation was very peculiar. Wizards were consulted and the thief was tracked. Nuniz states that "here are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the Land"

#### The City of Vijayanagara and its Police.

The safety of person and property in the great city was entrusted to the Prefect of the City whose office lay just opposite to the Mint. He was the Commissioner of the City Police, with about 12,000 policemen under him. The duty of these policemen was to patrol the whole city, to acquaint themselves with all the events, and accidents, that take place within its seven walls, and to recover the property that was lost or stolen. If they failed in their duty to do so, they were fined. Abdul Razack quotes a concrete instance: "Thus certain slaves that my companion had brought took to flight and when the circumstance was reported to the Prefect, he ordered the watchmen of that quarter where the poorest people dwell to produce them or to pay the penalty, which last they did on ascertaining the amount."<sup>3</sup>

These policemen were paid 30 *panams* each per month, from the proceeds of 12,000 *panams* mainly derived from the dancing girls of the city.

The duty of the Commissioner ( *Nagarādhyakṣa* ) was to submit to the King, an account of the robberies committed in the Capital. It is said, that few robberies were committed in the capital. The Commissioner and his staff were always very vigilant to catch the thief and recover the the stolen property lest their property itself might be confiscated, "to make good the loss".

The principles laid down for guidance in punishments, are quoted below, from the *Āmuktamālyada* of Krishna Dēvarāya :—

V, 239.—"If a king were to propitiate his guards with presents and hand over to them for custody a thief whose guilt has been proved without immediate punishment and if when he escapes, the guards bring before the king another in his place and punish him, as in the story of the stout merchant on the spear,—will not the king's infamy increase?"



## BAPATLA KAIFIYAT.

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This manuscript, kindly lent to me by Rāja Kāndrēgula Jagannātha Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry, states that *Bhāvana* or *Bhāvanārāyaṇa Svāmi*, by making known his presence through a tree, led to the founding of a town named *Bhāvapurī* or *Bhāvapaṭṭala* which became corrupted as Bāpaṭla in course of time. A certain Chōla Emperor named Vīra Pratāpa Chōla Mahādēva is said to have built the temple of Bhāvanārāyaṇa in S.S. 515 (A.D. 593) and made a gift of two villages Bhāvapaṭla and Āmudālapalli, constituting them into *agrahara* for the god's worship and festival. A certain Krimikanṭha Chōla, and after him, Chōla Bhūpālādēva ruled over the country, till S. S. 775 (A.D. 853). Later on, *Vīra Pratāpa Śūra*, Bhallaya-Chōla Mahārāja, a descendant of *Kāvēritīra* Karikāla line ruled in S. S. 1032 (A.D. 1110). Then, Kulōttunga Chōlādēva ruled till S. S. 1037 (A.D. 1118). During his rule, Gaṇapati Mahārāja captured the throne in S. S. 1056 (A.D. 1134). His minister, Gōparāju Ramana assigned lands to Brahmins in S. S. 1062 (A.D. 1140). Then a ruler of the same Kākatīya line named Rullādēva Mahārāja ruled till S. S. 1240 (A.D. 1318) and then, the Reddī Kings defeated the Kākatīyas and occupied these countries, and six of them ruled one after another till S. S. 1340 (A.D. 1418). Then, Lāngūla Gajapati ruled over the whole of the country extending from Cuttack to Udayagiri in Nellore District. His son Kapileśvara Gajapati and then Puroṣōttama, Pratāparudra and finally Virabhadra Gajapati ruled over the whole country, until, in the latter's reign the *Narapati* king, Krishnādēvarāya started from Vijayanagar on a victorious march against the eastern countries, defeated Virabhadra, and took from him Koṇḍaviḍu. After ruling for eighteen years, from S.S. 1437 to 1455 (A.D. 1515 to 1533), he was succeeded by Achyutarāya, Sadāśivarāya Rāmarāya, Tirumalarāya Śrī-Rangarāya and other Carnatic rulers, who ruled till S.S. 1500 (A.D. 1578) when the country fell under the yoke of the *Mlecchas* (Mohammedans). Malik Ibrahim and Abdulla ruled over the country and curtailed the gifts made to the god. The country was governed by *Amils*, and *Dēspāndyas*. When, from A.D. 1751 to 1758 the administration of country was handed over by the Nizām-ul-Mulk to the French. They revoked the land grants made to the temple of Bhāvanārāyaṇa. The East India Company, who then succeeded to the government of the country in 1759 were just rulers and their Dewan, Rāja Kāndrēgula Jōgi Jagannātha Rao Bahadur *Muzumdar* and *Sher-seristhadar*, Rajamahēndri *Sircar*, granted to their temple and several other temples servants and lands for conducting the worship and the festivals properly to the deity. In A. D. 1803 the East India Company put to auction these countries and then Rāja Vāsireddi Venkatādri Nāyaḍu purchased them and continued undisturbed the full enjoyment of the gifts of lands made to the temple and to the temple servants already.

## EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

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(Continued from page 220 vol. I V. above)

### II

Having considered the routine of the life of a Hindu student in ancient India, I shall proceed to give as briefly as possible the duties and responsibilities of the teacher and the pupil and the mode of correction resorted to by teachers in times of yore. The standing duties of a student are as follow. Sāṃkhyāyana II. 4, 5 refers to the teacher as saying to the student who approaches him for receiving education thus :

• “ A student art thou, put on fuel. Eat water. Do the service. Do not sleep in day time. Keep silence till the putting on of fuel ”. The student performs the *Sandhya*, seated in the forest with a piece of wood in his hand. He does the *Sandhya* constantly observing silence turning his face northwest, murmuring *Sāvitrī* and other verses. In the same way in the morning he does it till the disk of the Sun appears”. When the Sun has risen, the study of the *Vēda* goes on. In the evening and morning he establishes the fire in its proper place, wipes with his hand round it, sprinkles water, bends his right knee, puts on fuel invoking with the texts *Jātavēdasa* and *Agni*.

Asvalāyana I. 22. gives almost the same duties. He adds that the student should beg first of a man who will not refuse, and in begging, he should use the words “Sir, give food”, “Oh Lady, give food.” The term ‘Lady’ was however used by a Brahman at the beginning of his request, by a Kshatriya in its middle, and by a Vysya at its end. Parāśara mentions the bearing of the staff, the worship of the fire, obedience to *Guru*, going round for alms, as his duties. He adds that the student should avoid honey and flesh, bathing for pleasure, sitting on high seats, going to women, speaking falsehood, and taking what is not given. (*Parāśara* II. 5. 11) ,

It might appear that some of the duties prescribed for the student are quite ridiculous and fantastical but it should be borne in mind that they refer to an age far removed from that which we live in. But the discipline in life which the duties engendered in the student and the humility which the student had to cultivate as, for example, by begging for his food are features of ancient education which cannot be brushed

aside lightly. I might state here that begging by a student was not confined to the students in ancient India. Some of the students of the monasteries in the middle ages in Europe also begged for their food.

Now what are the obligations of a teacher in ancient times? Had he merely rights without obligations, like the nobility of France before the revolution of 1789? No, the teacher in ancient India had his own duties to discharge in his relations with the pupil. The teacher had to love his pupil as his own son, and if he had more than one pupil under his charge—which was not uncommon, it was incumbent upon him to love them all as his own sons. The following passage from *Manusmṛiti* (Chap. 71: vv. 159—161) refers to the conduct of a teacher towards his pupil. "Created beings must be instructed in what concerns their welfare without giving them pain; and sweet and gentle speech must be used by the teacher who desires to abide by the Sacred Law. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure, even, and perfectly guarded, gains the whole reward which is conferred by the Vēdānta. Let him not, even though in pain, speak words cutting to the quick. Let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make others afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining Heaven".

As regards punishments of pupils, Gautama says "As a rule pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other course is possible, he may be corrected with a thin rope or cane. If the teacher strikes him with any other instrument, he shall be punished by the king". (*Gautama*, II, 42—46) Manu also awards similar punishments and considers the teacher who exceeds the bounds, as having committed the offence of theft. But Āpastamba is more severe. He prescribes frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, and banishment from the teacher's presence as correctives to a recalcitrant student (*Āpastamba* V, 2.) It is needless to state that the above quotation makes us infer that teachers in ancient India were not generally in favour of harsh punishments for pupils except under extra-ordinary circumstances.

### III

#### EDUCATION OF OTHER CASTES IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD.

If the Vedic Schools were confined mostly to the Brahmins, it should not be supposed that the education of the young men of the other two castes was neglected. It should be borne in mind that the Aryan society in the early epoch was flexible and the promotion of a member of either Kshatriya or the Vysya caste to the Brahman caste was quite possible as also the adoption by a Brahmin of the profession of the two other castes (Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, 1913 Ed. pp. 56-57.) If the Kshatriyas and Vysyas did not avail themselves of the higher education

imparted in educational institutions run by Brahmins, it was due to their desire to equip themselves in the special study of arts and crafts which enabled them to thrive well in their respective professions. It is possible that a major portion of the members of these castes did not think it worth their while to waste long and precious periods of their lives in the acquisition of what appeared to them an unprofitable lumber. But instances are not wanting to show that some members of the Kshatriya caste at least could prosecute their Vedic study with as much avidity and proficiency as the Brahmins and assume a position of eminence in literary circles of the time. The name of Janaka, king of the Vidēhas, referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* for his eminence in Vedic lore, is a case in point. Chitra Gangayani, Javāli and Ajātaśatru were in a position to give instruction to Brahmins in the *Śāstras*.

Now what was the kind of education intended specially for the Kshatriyas? Gautama (XI.1) prescribes the three-fold sacred science and logic to the Kshatriyas. The royal princes were expected to receive instruction in archery as became their future calling. The cases, of Drōṇa who instructed the Pāṇḍava and Kuru princes in archery and of Viśvāmitra who taught the same art to the sons of Daśaradha, come to our minds at once. Military skill and right moral conduct were considered indispensable for a Kshatriya. Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra* mentions four sciences which members of the royal family should receive, namely *Anvikṣhiki*, the three *Vedas*, *Vārta*, and *Dandanīti*. The first comprised the study of the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, and *Lokāyata* philosophies. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade made up *Vārta*. And the science of Government with a knowledge of criminal law was what was known as *Dandanīti*. What Kauṭilya prescribes for the study of princes may well be supposed to apply to all the members of the Kshatriya community. But there is no unanimity of opinion among the ancient authorities in regard to the particular kind of education necessary for a Kshatriya. Be that as it may, it may be taken for certain that military training, the science of government, (*rājanīti*) and knowledge of literary works inculcating ideals of moral and religious life formed the curriculum of study of Kshatriyas generally.

As regards the period of training, the Kshatriya had to receive instruction for six years, that is, till he was 16, assuming that he was initiated in his 11th year in accordance with what was prescribed in the *Sūtras*. The Kshatriya should receive lessons in the forenoon and these comprised training in military arts, use of elephants, horses, and chariots in war, and the use of weapons. The afternoon was to be utilised for *Itihāsa* which included the *Purāṇas*, history and tales known as *Itivṛtta*, and *Akhyayika*. During the rest of the day and the night the young Kshatriya should not only receive new lessons but revise old ones. He should also hear over again what had not been clearly understood before.

As Rev. Keay remarks, "the education prescribed for Kshatriya held up a noble ideal, not in any way inferior to the education of knights in the middle ages." *Ancient Indian Education*. pp. 70—71.)

As regards the Vysyas who were the third caste, they employed themselves in agriculture and trade. They did not derive much benefit from the study of the Vedas for improving their prospects in their own profession. The Vysyas and the Kshatriyas knew pretty well even in early times that a good portion of life devoted entirely to the study of the Vedas did not add a title to their worldly possessions, and it might be supposed that they were only too glad if the Brahmin teachers let them alone without imposing upon them the unprofitable task, as it seemed to them, of studying the Vēdas and acquiring knowledge. A Vysya was expected to know the respective value of the commodities he traded in and appraise their values correctly. For instance, he should be conversant with the quality, the fineness, etc., of pearls, metals, perfumes etc. which formed generally the commodities of trade. He was also expected to know the proper time for the sowing of the seeds, to distinguish between good, bad, and indifferent soils, the profitability or otherwise of carrying on trade with this or that foreign country, the mode of rearing cattle etc. The young Vysya should, besides these, know something of commercial geography, arithmetic, some languages, and some practical details of trade, all of which would be of much help to him in his special calling. When it became evident that educational instructions of the Brahmins did not serve their purposes adequately, establishment of special educational institutions to meet the demands of Vysyas became a necessity. The Brahmins in some cases satisfied the demand but when it was not done, the trading and agricultural communities in villages and towns joined together and established the necessary schools for their children. Writing became a necessity in these institutions and it was freely used by these communities. It should be noted in this connection that writing was first introduced into India by traders and merchants and that it was first made use of for satisfying the needs of commercial education before it was availed of for literary purposes.

Besides the Vysyas, there arose in course of time other communities pursuing various occupations. The Carpenter, the blacksmith, etc. found a place in society and formed an indispensable factor in the social organism. The origin of these crafts may be traced even to the *Rig Samhita*, so that it is not true to say that they came into existence in the later part of the ancient period. The four original castes multiplied gradually into innumerable sub-castes and sub-communities following different occupations. To the craftsmen, who thus came into existence, the three R's were not an absolute necessity. The crafts, like other professions of the three higher castes, became hereditary and the son of a

"craftsman stepped into the calling of his father on the latter becoming diseased, or otherwise incompetent, or when he died. Apprenticeship was not unknown. The son absorbed unconsciously the technique of his father's craft. The craftsmen in order to preserve the secrets of their respective crafts and in order that others might not enter into their profession began to form 'guilds' in course of time, like the Craft-Guilds in Medieval Europe. It appears that the only learning which these craftsman needed, was the memorisation of certain Sanskrit works which enunciated the principles underlying their respective occupations. The case of *Vāstu-sāstra*, containing the traditional rules for the building of a house which in southern India was learnt by heart, illustrates this.

Thus, the education which the craftsmen received may well be termed "professional" in modern parlance. It might be that the members of these castes might be defective so far as sheer school-taught literary education was concerned but their training in their respective professions left nothing to be desired, judging from the standard of civilisation in which they were born. It is a mistaken notion in the minds of the critics of the ancient Hindu system of education that the Brahmins kept all other castes in total darkness lest they might one day compete with them for the supreme position in society. The truth seems to be that the members of these castes did not in the least trouble themselves about the unprofitable learning of the Brahmins which would impede rather than accelerate their respective occupations.

Now this leads me to consider for a moment the justification or otherwise of the charge usually levelled against the Brahmin community by certain ill-informed persons. The brunt of the attack against this caste amounts to this, namely, that they denied for the members of the Śūdra class, all chances of their receiving the benefits of education. (see C. E. Trevelyn's *Education of India* Ed. 1838 pp. 168-9 foot note.) The position of the *Antyajas* at present is also ignorantly attributed to the selfishness of the Brahmin.

The early European writers like Mill, Orme, Abbe Dubois, Buchanan, Ward and others aggravated this prejudice. The Brahmins are generally identified with the clergymen of medieval Europe under the mistaken analogy of the three orders of society, the king, the church and the nobles which existed there. The Brahmin is by them saddled with all the sins attributed to the priests in European countries. 'Craftiness' is an epithet invariably applied by them to the Brahmin. 'Immoral' is the term attributed by Hegel to the Brahmin in his 'Philosophy of History'. J. D. Mayne in his "Hindu Law and Usage" "which is considered to be the standard work on Hindu Law attributes the origin of the Law of Partition among the Hindus to the selfish desire on the part of the Brahmin whose

emoluments for officiating at religious ceremonies would be multiplied in proportion to the number of the divided members after the partition was effected. Sir Watter Scott in the only Novel where the scene is laid in India could not think of any other person than 'Brahmin Papiiah' to serve as the villain of the piece.

But let us examine the charge. The statement that the Brahmins are a priestly class 'is at best a half truth and like all half-truths has been productive of an infinitely greater amount of mischief than many absolute falsehoods. All Brahmins are not priests nor all priests Brahmins. And if by 'priest' is understood a person who officiates at places of worship as is evidently the connotation of the term employed by the European writers, the number of such priests in the Brahmin community is microscopically small. The statement might have been true in the earliest epoch of the Vedic age when the Brahman discharged the priestly functions on the principle of division of labour, but those conditions changed in a later age. In the Buddhist age, the popularity of the sacrifice waned with the result that in the competition which ensued between members of the Brahmin community for sacrificial fees, some were compelled to follow all sorts of occupations. (Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*. pp. 248-9) There was yet another cause for the change in the occupations of the Brahmin. It was the growing disinclination of the other castes to support the Brahmin who performed religious rites and sacrifices.

It is a pity that the early European writers either ignorant of the real constitution of the Brahmin community or too impatient to investigate into the truth of the statements made by them, began to apply the phrase 'priestly class' whenever they had any occasion to refer to the Brahmin community. And this phrase is continued to be applied "ad nauseum" both by the Europeans and by some of the Indians who take, for gospel truth, whatever is laid down by the former.

(To be continued)

## AMARAVATI FROM A. D. 100 TO 700.

PROFESSOR G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL.

A. SECOND CENTURY; THE ĀNDHRAS. The only Āndhra inscription at Amarāvati belongs to the reign of Vāsīthiputa Sāmi-Siri-Pulumāvi, (Śatavāhana).

B. THIRD CENTURY; THE IKṢVĀKUS. It is certain that the Ikṣvākus came immediately after the Āndhras (Śatavāhanas): the alphabet of the Myākadoni Āndhra inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV Page 153) resembles that of the Jaggayapēṭa inscription of the Ikṣvāku king Purisadata (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, page 256.)

Jaggayapēṭa is situated near the left bank of Krishna, and Nāgarjunakōṇḍa, where many Ikṣvāku inscriptions were recently discovered is on the right bank of the river; so, it is not possible to doubt now that the Ikṣvākus had a large kingdom and reigned at Amarāvati.

C. FOURTH CENTURY; THE PALLAVAS. The Prākṛt plates of the Pallava dynasty are certainly very ancient: the Mayidavōlu plates are written in the same alphabet as the plates of Jayavarman found at Koṇḍamūḍi, and Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from the Āndhra kings (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VI, N°. 31, page 315).

The Mayidavōlu document is an order, concerning the village of Viṇipara situated in the province of Āndhrapatha (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, page, 84) sent to the governors of Dhaññakaḍa (Amarāvati). Viṇipara is perhaps Vipparla (2 miles east of Krōsūr and 12 miles from Dharani kōṭa). It is a Pallava grant in Prākṛt dialect.

### D. FIFTH CENTURY: THE KANDARA FAMILY.

The Maṭṭepād plates of Dāmōdaravarman are certainly very ancient: the alphabet is of the early type as in the case of the Pallava plates of Chārudēvi (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VIII, N°. 12) and of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IX, N°. 7) the old Śālaṅkāyana king.

These plates (Maṭṭepād, Chārudēvi and Vijaya-Devavarman) are in a peculiar language: Prākṛt and Sanskrit mixed. Dāmōdaravarman of the Maṭṭepād plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, N°. 18, page 327) resided at a city called Kandarapura and was a worshipper of *Samyak-Sambuddha*; he belongs to the *Gotra* of Ānanda. The Chēzarla inscription (*Ep. Report*



for 1900 pp. 5 and 35) mentions the daughter of king Kandara of the Ananda gōtra.

The king Attivarman (a Prakṛt form of Hastivarman) of the Kandara family and Ananda Gōtra refers, in the Gōraṇṭla grant (Gōraṇṭla is 20 miles from Amarāvati) to Tāḍikoṇḍa (12 miles south of Amarāvati), to Āntukūrā or Andukūru (a village 2 miles east of Krōsur and 12 miles from Amarāvati) (See *Ep. Ind.* vol. XVII, page 327 and *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, page, 102) and to a field south of the Kṛṣṇabenna.

#### E. SIXTH CENTURY: THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.

During the second half of the fifth century, the Viṣṇukunḍins, a dynasty related with the vākātakas, replaced the Śālaṅkāyanas at Vēngi and reigned at Dendulūru. They were very powerful; circ. 500 A.D.; they crossed the Kṛishṇa river and replaced the Ānanda family at Amarāvati.

Vēlupūru (Vēlpūru) 2 miles north of Krōsūr and 12 miles west from Amarāvati has a very important stone inscription (*Report on Epig.* for 1925-26, page 3.); the inscription (N°. 581 of 1925) mentions King Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty.

#### F. SEVENTH CENTURY: THE CHĀLUKYAS.

Pulikēśin II. put an end to the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty and the Eastern Chālukyas reigned during the seventh century.

CONCLUSION: We can resume in a tabular form the chronological evolution of the documents:

Date.	Dynasty.	Language.	Religion.	Copper-Plates.
II Century	Āndhra	Prākṛt	Buddhist	No copper-plates.
III „	Ikshvāku	Prākṛt	Buddhist	No copper-plates.
IV „	Pallava	Prākṛt	Buddhist & Hindu	Rare copper-plates.
V „	Kandara	Prākṛt & Sanskrit mixed.	Buddhist & Hindu	Rare copper-plates.
VI „	Vishṇukunḍin	Sanskṛt	Hindu	Several copper-plates.
VII „	E. Chālukya	Sanskṛt	Hindu	Numerous copper plates.

## A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS.\*

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1. In my lectures which I delivered under the auspices of the Madras University in 1929, I hazarded the suggestion that the Dravidian languages were only a variety of the Prākṛits and adduced many points of resemblance in vocabulary and structure between them and the Prākṛits. I contended on the basis of many facts which I put forth in those lectures that neither the Scythian theory of Caldwell nor the Isolation theory now in the field, much less any extra-Aryan affinity of the Dravidian languages that is sometimes suggested can be maintained with any degree of probability, and that scholars had so far directed their vision far beyond the borders of India while a close affinity is clearly perceptible nearer home. These lectures, I printed under the name of "An Introduction to Dravidian Philology"† and the book received varying degrees of appreciation. The one outstanding criticism of the book is that, it is more in the nature of a speculation and required much greater evidence to carry conviction. Of course, when I published the book, I was deeply conscious of the insufficiency of the data supplied therein, but the limitations under which those lectures were delivered would not allow me to give more details than what were presented in them. I take this opportunity to begin to supply the details which workers in Dravidian Philology would like to know.

2. I begin with a study of the Telugu Roots. I take up Telugu not only because it is my mother-tongue, but also, because it is spoken by the greatest number among the Dravidian peoples and affinities with the Prākṛit can be established with the least difficulty in that language. If Prākṛit affinities could be satisfactorily established with the Telugu roots, it will become easy to establish the Prākṛitic nature of the other Dravidian languages also by simply finding out cognate roots in them.

3. Telugu roots, like Prākṛit roots, and like the roots in any other modern Aryan languages, are generally classified under three heads, *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *dēśya*. There is not much difficulty with regard to the first two classes for they could be easily derived either from Sanskrit or Prākṛit. The '*tatsama*' are either '*Sanskṛita śc māś*' or

\* A paper presented to the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference 1930.

† *An Introduction to Dravidian Philology*, Sadhana Book Depot, Anantanur  
Price Rs. 2.

'*Prākṛita samās*' and are formed by the addition of suffixes which have come to be attached to them in the different languages. The '*tadbhavas*' are either '*Saṃskṛita-samās*' or '*Prākṛita-samās*' and are formed by the addition of suffixes which have come to be attached to them in the different languages. The '*tadbhavas*' are modified forms of *Saṃskṛita*, or *Prākṛita* originals and have, along with the '*tatsama*' and '*dṛśya*' words, almost the same suffixes. Following BEAMES, I would regard the '*Prākṛitasamās*', *Saṃskṛitabhavas* and *Prākṛitabhavas* as late '*tadbhavas*'. '*Tatsamas*' or '*tadbhavas*', however, are of no use to the solution of the Dravidian problem, for they prove nothing beyond the fact of borrowing. It is only their suffixes that will interest us and as these are found in the '*Dṛśyas*' also, it will be sufficient to discuss them under that head.

4. '*Dṛśyas*' are regarded as a class by themselves, and the name is given to such words and forms which could not be traced to any *Saṃskṛita* or *Prākṛita* originals. Some have considered them to be extra-Aryan. This has been the opinion about the *Prākṛit dṛśyas*, and those in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars also. But with the advance of philological research, more and more, these are being brought within the sphere of the Aryan. The opinion that these are extra-Aryan or even Dravidian is gradually giving place to the view that they are early '*tadbhavas*' and that they can be proved to be so by the application of the phonological laws of change. I beg to suggest that, if this is so with regard to the acknowledged Aryan languages, the same may, on investigation, hold good in the case of Telugu and the rest of the Dravidian languages also, if by the application of the same phonological laws, the so-called '*dṛśyas*' in the Dravidian languages could be proved to be only early '*tadbhavas*' disguised beyond recognition by the extreme changes that have occurred among them. At least, it will not be just to set aside the unanimous opinion of the Native Grammarians without directing our investigation into the correctness or otherwise of the position taken up by them.

5. For the Telugu roots, I rely in this paper on the Telugu Dictionary '*Śabdaratnākaramu*' by Sītārāmāchāryulu. This is the biggest Telugu dictionary and is generally acknowledged as an authority on the Telugu language. I classify the Telugu roots found in this dictionary according to their endings. Sītārāmāchāryulu is a Saṃskṛitist and has not allowed any word to be derived from a non-Saṃskṛitic original where even the semblance of a Saṃskṛit affinity could be suggested. So, when he says a root is '*dṛśya*', it may be taken as beyond dispute that he could not trace it to a Saṃskṛit or Prākṛit original. I take, therefore, only such Telugu roots as he has indicated to be '*dṛśyas*' and proceed to investigate them.

6. Telugu roots may be classified for the sake of convenience according to their endings, as under. The number, given by the side of each root, indicates the number of Telugu roots with that ending found in the above dictionary.

- :ku ఈ 20, ñku ఁ 10, ku కు 62, kku క్కు 34;  
 :gu గు 5, ñgu ఁ 15, gu గు 58, ggu గ్గు 15;  
 :tsu చు 35, ntsu ఁ 448, tsu చు 211, ttsu చ్చు 22;  
 :dzu డు 7, ñdzu ఁ 5, dzu డు 0, dzdzu డ్డు 2;  
 :ñu ఁ 9, ñu ఁ 5, tu ఁ 11, ttu ఁ 21;  
 :du దు 9, ñdu ఁ 11, du దు 34, ñdu డ్డు 21; nu ను 1;  
 :tu తు 1, ntu ఁ 0, tu తు 1, ttu త్తు 9;  
 :bu బు 8, ñbu ఁ 12, du దు 3, ddu డ్డు 4; nu ను 17, nnu న్ను 4;  
 :pu పు 8, ñpu ఁ 11, pu పు 65, ppu ప్పు 12;  
 :bu బు 0, ñbu ఁ 1, bu బు 0, bbu బ్బు 9; mu ము 32, mmu మ్ము 17;  
 :yu యు 113, ñyu ఁ 11, ru రు 73, ru రు 22, ñru ర్దు 3;  
 :lu లు 110, ñlu ఁ 118, lu లు, ñlu ల్లు 8, vu వు 50, vvu వ్వు 11;  
 su సు 1.

The same arranged according to their descending order of frequency is:—

ntsు ఁ 448, tsు చు 211, yు యు 113, lu లు 110, ñlu ఁ 118, :gu గు 58, ru రు 73, pu పు 65, ku కు 62, vu వు 50, :tsu చు 35, kku క్కు 34, mu ము 32, tu ఁ 28, ttsu చ్చు 22, ttu ఁ 21, :ku ఈ 20, nu ను, mmu మ్ము 17, ñgu గు, ggu గ్గు 15, ndu డు, ppu ప్పు 12, ñdu డు, ñpu ఁ, yyu య్దు vvu వ్వు 11, ñku ఁ 10, :tu ఁ :du దు, ttu ఁ, bbu బ్బు 9, :du దు, :pu పు ñlu ల్లు 8, :dzu డు 7, ñdzu ఁ 5, ddu డ్డు, nnu న్ను 4, du దు, ñru ర్దు 3, dzdzu డ్డు 2, nu ను, :tu తు, tu తు, ñbu ఁ, su సు 1, dzu డు, ntu ఁ, :bu బు bu బు 0.

7. The total number of 'deriva' roots recorded in the dictionary is thus 1698. But all these cannot be called basic roots as they include a larger number of dialectic variations and forms disguised by the operation of phonological change. Thus:—

- Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel  
nku—īku.
- Softening of medial surds: *atuku*—*aduku*, etc.

#### Vowels:—

##### INITIAL: ,

- a-u: *adaru-udaru* etc.,  
i-e: *peruku-piku* etc.,

- i-u : *tilakiñtsu-tulakiñtsu* etc.,
- ē : *•sdrū-ṣṣaru* etc.,

#### MEDIAL:

- b. 1. a-u: *adaru-aduru* etc.,
- 2. i-iy: *bigiñtsu-bigiñtsu* etc.,
- c. Lengthening of initial vowel: *oḍutsu oḍiñtsu* etc.,
- d. Lengthening of medial vowel: *āraṭiñ su-arāṭiñtsu* etc.,
- e. Loss of medial vowel: *peruku: perka: igurutsu-iguriñtsu:*
- f. Interposition of vowel between the elements of a conjunct consonant: *krēḍiñtsu-kēraḍiñtsu* etc.,

#### Consonants:—

#### INITIAL:

- a. Insertion: *añtsu-pañtsu: attu-hattu* etc.,
- b. ts-dz-g: *tsiṣu-dziṣu-giṣu* etc.,
- dz-d: *dzaḍiṣu-ḍaḍiṣu* etc.,
- ḍ-r: *paḍu-paṣu* etc.,
- t-d: *tanuku-danuka* etc.,
- d-ḍ: *dakku-ḍakku* etc.,
- p-m: *peruku-m-ruku* etc.,
- p-v: *veli aliñtsu-veluvariñtsu* etc.,
- p-h: *pettsu-hettsu* etc.,
- kk-g: *mikkilū-rūḍiḍiḍi* etc.,

#### MEDIAL:

- a. Shortening of medial consonant: *ets sariñtsu- ḍetsariñtsu* etc.,
- b. Insertion of a medial consonant: *ummaliñtsu-ummaliḱiñtsu* etc.,
- c. Softening of medial surds: *atuku-adoku* etc.,
- d. Changes in medial consonants:—
- k-m: *poṭakariñtsu-poṭamariñtsu* etc.,
- g-v: *igiriñtsu iviriñtsu* etc.,
- ḍ-n: *puḍuku-punuku* etc.,
- ḍ-r: *mummaḍiñtsu-mummariñtsu* etc.,
- t-b: *galatariñtsu galabariñtsu* etc.,
- d-n: *vedaku vebaku* etc.,
- n-r: *tsinugu-tsinugu* etc.,
- n-l: *tsinuku-tsiluku* etc.,
- b-m: *gubuku-gumuku* etc.,
- bb-m: *ibbaḍiñtsu inamaḍiñtsu* etc.,
- r-l: *uppariñtsu-uppaḷiñtsu* etc.,
- r-r: *eragu-eragu* etc.,
- r-l: *giṣuku-giluku* etc.,
- l-ḍ-l: *velugu-beḍakū-beḷuku* etc.,
- t: *pōsariñtsu-pōtariñtsu* etc.,
- l-r: *rangariñtsu-rangariñtsu* etc.,

**Final Consonants:—****(a) CHANGES:—**

- ku-gu : tolaku-tolagu etc.,  
 kk-gg : mrakku-mraggu etc.,  
 g-y : tselagu-tselayu etc.,  
 gu-vu : esagu-esavu etc.,  
 tsanu-tsu : kaḍatsanu-kaḍatsu etc.,  
 tsu-ñtsu : velārutsu-velārīñtsu etc.,  
 ñtsu-llu : tārasīñtsu-tārasillu etc.,  
 pp-vv : oppu-ovvu etc.,  
 r-l : viduru-vidulu etc.,  
 vu-gu : avu-agu etc.,  
 vꣳmm : ḍvṽ-ommu e'c.,  
 s-d : sarasu-saradu etc.,

Loss of medial consonant and compensatory lengthening :

tanuku-tāku.,

Nasalization : pikku-pingu etc.,

Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel :

Metathesis : kōgu-gōku etc.,

Assimilation: inmaḍīñtsu-immaḍīñtsu; maḡalu-maḡḷḷu; veḍalu-veḷḷu etc.\*

Each of the above examples illustrates the operation of a phonetic law by means of which variant forms of a particular root are obtained. Other phonetic laws also have their play, so that, there is an inordinate swelling of the number of the basic forms of Telugu verbs. Strictly speaking, therefore, there cannot exist more than, say, 300 to 400 '*deśya*' roots which have to be accounted for on the supposition that they are derived from the Prākṛit languages.

8. I shall proceed to examine the origin of the endings of the above verbal bases. The examples given under each head will be only such bases as are definitely regarded as '*deśyas*' by the Native Grammarians and lexicographers.

**1. KU**

The 'ku' is from Sanskrit. \*kṛi and the fifth class suffix 'nu', i. e., 'kṛiṇu', which may become either 'kanu' or 'konu' in Prakrit. That it is so, can be known from the fact that forms with the so-called auxiliary verbs 'kanu' and 'konu' have forms in 'ku' also as variants, e.g., ūku, ūkonu; tāku; tākonu etc.. The nasalization of the ending is due to its association with (a) a nasal, (b) a nasal *plus* consonant, or (c) a consonant like *t, th, d dh, l, r*, etc., which have a tendency to be turned into nasals.

**Examples.**

a. Nasal and kṛi : iku (yam).

b. Nasal and consonant *plus* kṛi : gīku (kṛint); pīku (bhind).

- i-u : *tilakiñtsu-tulakiñtsu* etc.,
- e-ē : *esaru-ēṣaru* etc.,

#### MEDIAL :

- b. 1. a-u : *adaru-aduru* etc.,
- 2. i-y : *bigiñtsu-bigiñtsu* etc.,
- c. Lengthening of initial vowel : *oḍutsu-ōḍiñtsu* etc.,
- d. Lengthening of medial vowel : *āraṭiñ su-arāṭiñtsu* etc.,
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#### Consonants:—

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- ḍ-r : *paḍu-paṛatsu* etc.,
- t-d : *tanuku-danuku* etc.,
- d-ḍ : *dakku-ḍakku* etc.,
- p-m : *peruku-m-ruku* etc.,
- p-v : *veli aliñtsu-veluvaṛiñtsu* etc.,
- p-h : *pettsu-hettsu* etc.,
- kk-g : *nukkilu-nāḡuḷ* etc.,

#### MEDIAL :

- a. Shortening of medial consonant : *ets sariñtsu- ētsariñtsu* etc.,
- b. Insertion of *q* medial consonant : *ummañiñtsu-ummalikiñtsu* etc.,
- c. Softening of medial surds : *atuku-aduku* etc.,
- d. Changes in medial consonants:—
- k-m : *poṭakariñtsu-poṭamariñtsu* etc.,
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- r-l : *uppariñtsu-uppaḷiñtsu* etc.,
- r-r : *eragu-eragu* etc.,
- r-l : *giṛuku-giluku* etc.,
- l-ḍ-l : *velugu-beḍaḡu-beḷuku* etc.,
- ḡ-t : *pōsariñtsu-pōtariñtsu* etc.,
- l-r : *rangariñtsu-rangariñtsu* etc.,

## Final Consonant—

## (a) CHANGES:—

- ku-gu: tolaku<sup>4</sup>-tolagu etc.,  
 kk-gg: mrakku-mraggu etc.,  
 g-y: tselagu-tselayu etc.,  
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 tsanu-tsu: kaḍatsanu-kaḍatsu etc.,  
 tsu-ñtsu: velārutsu-velāriñtsu etc.,  
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Each of the above examples illustrates the operation of a phonetic law by means of which variant forms of a particular root are obtained. Other phonetic laws also have their play, so that, there is an inordinate swelling of the number of the basic forms of Telugu verbs. Strictly speaking, therefore, there cannot exist more than, say, 300 to 400 'dēśya' roots which have to be accounted for on the supposition that they are derived from the Prākṛit languages.

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## 1. KU

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## Examples.

a. Nasal and kṛi: iku (yam).

b. Nasal and consonant *plus* kṛi: gīku (kṛint); pīku (bhind).



c. Consonant having a tendency to nasalization *plus* *kṛi*:  
kelakū (*kṛiś*), \*toraku, tolaku, tonaku, (stri); toḍāku, tolaku, tonāku,  
truṭ; sākū (*usādh*);

Root and fifth class suffix *plus* 'kṛi': dūku (*dhūnu*),

Past pass. participle *plus* 'kṛi': beḍakū, beḷaku, vaḍaku, vaṇaku (*bhīta*).

Prefix *plus* \*kṛi: ūku (*ud*).

Adverb *plus* 'kṛi': tsiku sīt: ḍōkū (*thūt*).

## 2. NKU.

a. Nasal *plus* *kṛi*: iñku (*yam*).

b. Nasal and consonant *plus* 'kṛi': nañku (*nyañch*).

c. Prefix *plus* 'kṛi': uñku (*ud*).

d. Consonant with nasalizing tendency *plus* 'kṛi': ḍuñku, ḍoñku  
(*adhas*).

e. Skt. root and prassive suffix 'ye' and 'kṛi': ḍiñku (*ḍiya*),  
boñku (*brūya*).

f. Gutturalization of the 'ñch' ending of a Skt. root: koñku,  
(*kuñch* or *kruñch*).

## 3. KU.

a. Root and class suffix *plus* 'kṛi': Examples are:—

iruku (*riś*); uḍuku (*ush*); uruku (*ruh*); tsituku, tsiduku, tsivuku, (*chid*):  
tanuku, danuku (*tan* or *tap*); tasuku (*tush*); vaḍaku (*vart*): vetaku,  
vedaku, vedaku, venaku, (*vish*); doraku (*dhṛi*): naduku (*naṭ*); naṛaku  
(*nas* or *nash*); nūku (*nud*): paḷuku (*brū*); pituku, piduku (*vidh*, *vēdh*):  
pisuku (*pish*); puḍuku, puṇuku, (*puṭ*): besuku (*bhraś*): bratuku, braduku  
(*vṛidh*, *vardh*): minuku (*miñj*); etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi':—utuku, uduku (*uddhav*); ubaku  
(*utplu*) oluku (*utsthā*); beḷuku, meḷaku (*vilas*): etc.

c. Prefix *plus* root:—aḍuku, atuku, aḍuku, (*adhi*):

d. Past passive participle *plus* 'kṛi':—kuluku (*kus*): tsiluku  
(*chinna*); toḍuku (*dhṛita*): toluku, tonuku, toṇuku, (*dhūta*):

e. Denominative: lasuku (*laya*).

## 4. KKU.

a. Prefix *plus* 'kṛi': ukku (*ud*).

b. Root *plus* 'kṛi': ekku (*ēdh*): krukku (*kruñch*): tsekku  
(*chaksh*) tsokku (*sukh*); tikku (*tij*); tokku, trokku (*tuj* or *tuḍ*) or *dhṛish*:  
dakku (*taj*); nakku (*nak*); nakku (*nud*); pokku (*plush*), bokku (*bhuksh*):  
makku (*mīā*); mukku (*mush*); vikku (*vi*); srukku (*śush*); etc.

c. Denominative: vakku (*bhraś*).

## 5. GU.

a. Root and class suffix *plus* 'kṛi': aḍagu, aṇagu, āgu (*aḍ*):  
alagu (*alas*); viḡū, īgu (*vidh*); eragu, eṛagu (*ēsh*); esagu, esavu, (*ish*); egu (*i*):  
karagu (*ghṛi*); kalagu (*kliś*); kāgu, krāgu (*kāś*); kōgu gōku: (*kṛint*); godagu,  
goṇagu (*gunj*); tselagu (*chal*); tsāgu (*sādh*); tunugu (*trñt*); tūgu (*tul*); torugu.

• toragu, toḍagu (sṛi); perugu, pergu (vṛidh); posagu (push); maḍagu, maṇagu, maḍugu, maḍgu (mṛid); masagu (mask); saragu surugu (sṛi); etc.

• b. Root and 5th class suffix *plus* 'kṛi': tōgu, dōgu, ḍōgu (dḥūntu)

• c. Prefix *plus* root *plus* 'kṛi': ūgu (udvij), odugu (uddhṛi); osagu (upās); nīgu (nīvṛit); pasagu (prasari); beḍagu, velagu (vilas).

d. Past passive participle *plus* 'kṛi': kaḍagu, kaṇagu (kṛita); tsinugu, tsirugu (chhinna); tḍagu (dhṛita); tolagu (tṛita); penagu (pinaddha); moṛagu, moṛugu mṛōgu (mukhara); etc.

e. Root *plus* 'kṛi': dāgu (dhā); māgu, mrāgu (mlā); māgu (mush); mrēgu, mēgu (mṛi); rēgu (rich); vīgu (vij); vēgu, vrēgu, (vyadh); sāgu (sādh); etc.

f. Denominative: mesagu (āmish); etc.

g. Adjective *plus* 'kṛi': logu (tuchha) cf. Hindi luchhā.

The nasalisation in the above examples might be due to (i) to the natural tendency to nasalize, (ii) to the presence of a nasal in the original root or (iii) to the addition of the *nu*, *nā* or *n* class suffix.

#### 6. NGU.

• a. Root *plus* 'kṛi': krungu kruñch; ḍangu, dangu darñs; ḍongu, dongu (dhā); ḍongu (tull); trungu truṭ; nangu (nas) cf. nāsikā; pongu (plut); brungu (brū); mrangu (mṛid); etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi': uppongu (utplut); etc.

c. Denominative: mringu (āmish); etc.

d. Adjective *plus* 'kṛi': longu (tuchha) cf. Hindi luchhā; etc.

#### 7. GU.

a. Root *plus* 'kṛi': arugu (ṛi); odugu (vyadh); (kasagu karsh or gharsh); gorugu (kshur); tserugu (śūrp); tsāgu (sādh); ḍzaragu, soragu (sṛi) ḍigi ḍigu (ḍi); trāgu (tṛish); tirugu (sṛi); perugu (vṛidh); malugu, mālugu (mlā); arugu (kshay); alugu (rush); ilugu (riś); īgu (īj); ilugu (li); medugu (mṛid) etc.

b. Root itself used as base: agu (bhū); tagu (sthag); etc.

c. Root and passive particle 'ya' *plus* 'kṛi': bijugu (brū);

d. Past passive participle *plus* 'kṛi': kaḍugu (kshālita); kalugu (kṛita); tselagu, tsēgu, selagu (chhitta); talgu (dhūta); toḍugu (dhṛita); noḍugu (nuta); poḍugu (vṛiddha); podugu (pushtha) etc.

e. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi': oragu, oṛagu (udvart); visugu (vya); vēgu (vilas) etc.

f. Prefix *plus* past passive participle: uḍugu (apa- or upahata); nilugu, nīlugu (nīrvṛita) etc.

g. Adverb *plus* 'kṛi': viḍugu, virugu (prithak) etc.

#### 8. GGU.

a. Root *plus* 'kṛi': iggu ij; gaggu (gad); daggu, daggu (dah); diggu, diggu (ḍi); nuggu (nud); maggu, mraggu (mlā) etc.

b. Prefix and root *plus* 'kṛi': niggu, neggu (nirvah).

## 9. TSU.

a. Roots ending in *s*, *ś*, *sh*, *ch*, *ksh*, etc.: *alatsu* (*alas*); *utsu* (*ujjh*); *kalatsu* (*kalush*); *kratsu* (*karś*); *natsu* (*naś*); *putsu* (*prich*); *ratsu* (*rich*); *latsu* (*lash*); *vratsu* (*vraśch*) etc.

b. 4th class suffix or passive particle 'ya' with *\*t*, *th*, *r*, etc.  
*etsu* (*ēshy*); *tsatsu* (*sādhy*); *notsu* (*nuty*); *melatsu* (*mīl*); *vetsu* (*vyadhy*);

c. Root *plus* *\*ach* to be:

*aatsu*, *anatsu*, *atsu* (*aḍ*); *karatsu* (*ghri*); *datsu*, *datsu* (*dhā*); *tatsu* (*taḍ*); *tutsu* (*tul*); *maatsu*, *maatsu* *manutsu*, *malatsu* (*mṛd*) etc.

d. Root *plus* 'ishy' (its) where 'i' is incremental and 'shy' or 'sy' is futural.

e. Prefix and root *plus* *kach* :— *totsu* (*uday*); etc.

f. Past passive participle *plus* 'y': *tolatsu* (*dhūta* or *dhavalita*); *nalatsu* (*nata*); etc.

g. Adjective *plus* 'ya' :— *lotsu* (*tuccha*); etc.

## 10. NTSU.

The nasalization is entirely peculiar to Telugu, Kanarese equivalents of these roots end in 'su'.

a. Root *plus* 'ishy' : *isaḍiṅtsu* (*īrshy*); *kuṅtsu* (*kruñch*);

b. Prefix *plus* root :— *āṅtsu* (*ājñā*); etc. etc.

c. Prefix and root *plus* 'ishy' :—  
*atstsaliṅtsu* (*ācchal*); *āraṭiṅtsu* (*āraṭ*); *uṅkiṅtsu* (*utkri*); *uttariṅtsu* (*utkri*) or *uttri*); *uppatiṅtsu* (*utpat*); *uppariṅtsu*, *uppaḷiṅtsu* (*utplu*); *ūkiṅtsu* (*utsāh*); *ūṭiṅtsu* (*utsthā*); etc.

d. Prefix and past passive participle *plus* 'ishy' :—  
*avaghaḷiṅtsu* (*avakṛita* or *avaghrishṭa*); *āvaliṅtsu* (*avakṛita*); *onarṅtsu* (*upapanna*);

e. Past passive participle *plus* 'ishy' :—  
*aṅtiṅtsu* (*aṅkta*); *aggatiṅtsu* (*arghita*, *arhita*, or *arhita*); *udḍiṅtsu* (*yukta*); etc.

f. Denominative :— *igiriṅtsu*, *iviriṅtsu*, *chigiriṅtsu*, *chiviriṅtsu* (*śikhara*); *ivataḷiṅtsu* (*himakṛita*);

g. Re-duplications of root *plus* 'ishy' :— *aṭamaṭiṅtsu*; etc.

h. *Avyaya* and past passive participle *plus* 'ishy' :—  
*aḍakiṅtsu*, *apakiṅtsu*, (*adhaskṛita*); *alamatiṅtsu* (*alam aṭ*); *alavariṅtsu* (*alam pat*); *igiliṅtsu*, *iviliṅtsu* (*ihikṛita*); etc.

i. Nasalization of root-in *ś*, *s*, *sh*, or *ksh* :— *uṅtsu* *vas*; etc.

## SATALURU COPPER PLATE GRANT OF GUNAGA VIJAYADITYA, III.

BIJAVARAI V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

This inscription was first published in the *Bhārati*, a Telugu monthly miscellany of Madras, (Volume I, part 1, pp. 90-110) in 1924. The editorial notes were prepared by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., but his sad and untimely death prevented him from revising them and preparing the article for the press: the task of revision and giving the final form fell upon his friend and co-worker, Mr. M. Somaśekhara Śarma of the Andhra Encyclopaedia Office, Madras, who published the inscription under the name of the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao himself. This inscription being an important one and also not having been noticed by the Government Epigraphical Department in their *Annual Reports* till now, I propose to publish in English in this Journal. Some slight errors committed by the learned editor and other facts which will be discussed in the course of this paper have induced me to re-edit the inscription in English. I edit this from excellent ink impressions supplied to me kindly by my friend Mr. Somaśekhara Śarma.

The plates, it is said, were found in Sātālūru, a village in Bandar tālūka, in the Krishna district, while digging old earth from a mound for carting it as manure to the fields. They were found carefully preserved in an earthen pot. It is not known in whose land these plates were discovered, but somehow they came into the hands of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Editor of the *Bhārati* and the *Āndhrapatrika* who kindly passed them to late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, for examination and publication in his Journal. After the publication they were returned to Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, and are still lying in his office.

The inscription is engraved apparently, on seven plates altogether, which are strung on a ring which was not cut by the time the plates reached Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu. The plates are thick and are in a good state of preservation. They measure each,  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ ; there is writing on all the plates except on the first side of the first and the outer side of the last plate except for a few letters on it. The ring on which the plates were hung is of a diameter of  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ ; its ends are secured in a seal, the diameter of which being  $2\frac{1}{2}''$ . On the surface of the seal are to be seen counter sunk in relief, the figure of a wild boar *varāha*, elephant goad *aṁkuśa*, sun and moon and the usual legend



*ātmajah* while the cursive form is seen side by side in lines 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 in words like *Jayasamḥa*, *Vishnurājah*, *Dōṅgarājḥ* and *Vijayādityah*. Thus it appears from the use of the two forms of this letter, as well as the appearance of the open form of the initial vowel *i*, that the earlier and the later forms of alphabets were in use in the reign of Vijayāditya III., though it might be, the earlier form was fast losing its popularity. This view finds support also in the fact that the scribe makes a difference between the latter *da* and *da*, and this differentiation is particularly marked in line 45 where the two letters are to be seen side by side. The letter *da* is written very much alike *da*, but with this difference: there is a loop in *da* with a dot above it. The Dravidian letter *ḷ* is also seen in this record in three places (lines 54, 55 and 82) and this shows that, that peculiar sound was pronounced in the Andhra country in the 9th Century A.D.

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, being partly in prose and partly in verse. There are altogether eleven verses in lines, 17-19, 22-25, 31-37, 75-80 and 82-85, and the rest is prose. There is, however, one noteworthy fact which deserves special mention and that is the use of *champakā* metre in this grant. The poet in describing Kalivittara (Kali Vishnuvardhana V.), father of the donor of the grant, used *champakā* metre with *prāsa* in all the four *pādas* in the second letter, and this is very interesting. The use of the *prāsa* in the second letter in all the four feet is after the tradition of the Āndhra prosody. The *śloka* runs as follows:—

अरिनुपवाजिवारणपदाति महाभ्रविराममारुतः ।

परकरिकरि सुस्थितासिभरुचि प्रविनाशनं भानुसन्निभः ।

गुरुतरदीन भागवत मानवमानित कल्पपादपः ।

वरकरिगह्वभूमिपमुजा सिरिहाजिभुवि प्रहासते ॥

Though the *champakā* metre properly belongs to Sanskrit prosody, it was not popular at any time among the Sanskrit poets of repute and none of the great poets ever employed it, much less with *prāsa*, in the Āndhra fashion. The *champakā* metre with its peculiar features of *yati* and *prāsa* is one of the most popular metres in the Āndhra and Kannaḍa languages. In Āndhra and Kannaḍa the *prāsa* is observed in the second letter in all the four feet, and *yati* in the first and eleventh letter of every *pāda* unlike in Sanskrit. The above verse though in Sanskrit is composed very much in accordance with the Āndhra tradition. This feature is interesting as a landmark in the history of Telugu prosody. From the existence of a verse in *champakā* metre in this inscription of the Telugu country, two centuries before Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, it can be presumed that the Telugu-Sanskrit poets of the Gudrahāra viśhaya, nay of

the Andhra country employed the *chāmpaka* metre, with the peculiarities of the *prāsa* and probably *yati* also, in the Andhra language. But it is cannot be said with any certainty that the Telugu poets of the Ninth century<sup>o</sup> of the time of Gunaga-Vijayāditya III., used the *chāmpaka* metre with *yati* also like Nanniya. At any rate we have to assume that the use of the *yati* was later than the use of *prāsa*, until future researches bring, to light new facts to the contrary, in the Āndhra and in Kannada languages and that the *chāmpaka* metre with the restrictions of *yati* and *prāsa* became popular, sometime immediately in the Pre-Nanniya Epoch, in the tenth century A. D.

The facts recorded in this inscription are mostly known to us from the other grants of the king, namely the Guṇṭūr Plates,<sup>5</sup> the Pōnangy Plates, Ūṇṭutūru Grant and the unpublished Pāmūlapadu Copper-plate grant noticed by late Mr. Lakshmana Rao but they have never been properly discussed. The donor of this grant is no doubt the *first* king of the dynasty to give a complete list of kings that preceded him, in a chronological order with the duration of their reigns and their exploits. Previous to this prince the kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty were not in the habit of giving the names of their ancestors from the beginning but were content with giving their ancestry up to three generations only. Even this king in his Masulipatam Plates did not give more than three generations, and this induces me to assign that grant to a very early period of his reign, in all probability, shortly after he established himself on the throne. In his other grants which are nearly four in number, he merely mentioned the names of his ancestors, from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, gave the duration of their reigns and a few other facts about them. But in this grant one peculiarity is noticeable and that is this inscription gives a chronological account of the previous kings in an analytical manner. Thus the record states after the usual legendary introduction and the names of the king's predecessors, that there were *five* kings of the name of Vishṇuvardhana, *two* of Jayasīṃha, *one* by name Mangi Bōgarājā and *three* kings by the name of Vijayāditya, including the donor himself. This is certainly unusual; and this peculiar feature compels us to assume that this might be the earliest of all his grants till now discovered with the exception of the Masulipatam plates. Thus this inscription might be the first charter of the king, which begins with the historical genealogy and description of the kings from the days of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, and Vijayaditya III. must, therefore, be taken to have taken considerable pains to collect all the historical information about his predecessors from the dilapidated archives of his government, and thus set up a new model for the formal charters of his dynasty. This fact abounds

with his high historic sense which was so rare in those days even amongst his contemporaries, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Eastern Gāṅgas, the Western Gāṅgas and the Chōlas. Verily, the Andhras may feel proud of this illustrious and intelligent prince who ruled over their country roughly eleven hundred years ago.

This inscription says that after Kubja Vishnuvardhana reigned for 18 years his son *Sakala'ākāśraja* Jayasimha Vallabha reigned for 33 years. Then his brother's (Indrabhattaraka) son Vishnurāja II, for 9 years; then his son Mangi Dōga (Yuva) raja for 25 years; his son Jayasimha II for 13 years; his younger step-brother Kokkili for six months; having ousted him, his (Kokkili's) elder (uterine) brother Vishnuvardhana (III.) for 35 years; his son Vijayāditya (I.) for 18 years; then his son Vishnuvardhana (IV.) ruled the Vēṅgi mandala *twelve thousand* for 35 years; then his son Vijayāditya II, after destroying the Gāṅga race root and branch like a fierce wind, fought for twelve years against the commanders of the Vallabha king, (meaning the Rashtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III), built 108 temples to god Śiva under his surname *Narēndreśvara*, finally wrested from his own brother Bhima Saluke, the kingdom of Vēṅgi by defeating him, and ruled for *forty* years. He was succeeded by his son Kali Vittara who reigned for eighteen months; his son was Vijayāditya (III) who was also known as *Vira mukarādhvajah*, succeeded him. He weighed himself against gold several times, and pleased the brahmanas by distributing it to them. He was praised by them as *Gunake nallān*, meaning probably 'the most virtuous', and reigned over the whole of the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* together with the *Triṅgalinga* country. This prince, it is said, at the instance of his brother Nripakāma who is described as born of a Hathava princess gave away the village of *Śānta grāma* on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, to one hundred brahmanas, free of all taxes and other indemnities.

Compared with the other grants of this king, both published and unpublished, there are however, some slight discrepancies, in the number of years of reign allotted to each prince that preceded him. These discrepancies are more when compared with the records of the later period. For instance Jayasimha I. is given reign a thirty years by the Paḍaṅkalūru Grant of Ammarāja II.<sup>6</sup> as well as in the Chellūru plates of Kulottunga Chola II.<sup>7</sup> All the inscriptions of Vijayāditya III. on the other hand give him a reign of thirty three years. In spite of this, Dr. Fleet chose to accept the statements of some later kings and allot thirty years only to Jayasimha I.<sup>8</sup> And this is certainly unjustifiable, because the earlier records

6 *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII p. 15

7 *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI p. 55

8 *Ind. Ant.* vol. XX p. 97



are entitled to greater weight than the later ones. But there is also another view possible: it might be that Jayasimha reigned for thirty three years, and the first three years in conjunction with his father Kubja Vishnupardhana. For some reason or other the later sovereigns might have ignored the first 3 years of his reign which fell in the reign of his father. Or it might be that there was something of three years of terrible and devastating warfare in the last part of his reign with the king of Kalinga which resulted in his ignominious defeat and death, as recorded by Dandin in his *Dasakumāracharita*. Then, the death of his brother, Indrabhattāraka after a remarkably brief rule of seven days on the battlefield, probably against a confederacy of foes led by the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman and the vanquished Vishnukundin prince, also points us to the same conclusion. Another discrepancy is about the reign of Vishnupardhana III. While other grants of this king Vijayāditya III. give him a reign of 37 years, the present record allots to him 35 years only. This might be due to an error in composing the grant or might be due to a mistake committed in the early charters of the king and corrected afterwards in the later grants. As regards Vijayāditya II. all the records of Vijayāditya III. give him a reign of forty years except one, which gives him a reign of 41 years, and this might be due to the calculation of a few months over a half year as one year. Dr. Fleet has without any justification discarded the statements of the earlier kings which are certainly more reliable than the later ones and accepted for him a period of 44 years of rule.<sup>9</sup> Thus, though a few months one way or the other do not matter much, Vijayāditya II. should be taken to have reigned only for 40 years instead of 44 years. Likewise, Vijayāditya I. is stated to have reigned for 18 years only in this record while the other inscriptions of the king give him a duration of 19 years' reign. This discrepancy, is perhaps due to a mistake committed in the calculation of dates etc. in the earlier part of the king's reign by the superintendent of the public records, but later on corrected or revised: and that is the reason why in all the other charters of the king a reign of 19 years has been uniformly given to Vijayāditya I. It is because that a systematic attempt was made to give a chronological account of the kings of the dynasty till the reign of Vijayāditya III., that I attribute this subjoined grant to the early period of Vijayāditya III's reign; at any rate, I assume it to be the earliest of all the inscriptions of the king, thus far discovered with the exception of the Masulipatam plates. Here is the table which gives at a glance the duration of the reigns of the kings that preceded Gunaga-Vijayāditya III. according to several grants his and also according to Fleet's calculation.

<i>Names of the kings</i>	<i>The present Grant.</i>	<i>*Pāmula pāḍu grant.</i>	<i>Gunṭar Plates.</i>	<i>Urputūru Plates.</i>	<i>According to Dr. Fleet.</i>
•Kubjayishṇuvardhana I.	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 yrs	18 years.
*2. Jayasimha I. •	33 yrs	33 „	33 „	33 „	30 „ •
3. Vishṇuvardhana II.	9 „	9 „	9 „	9 „	9 „
4. Mangiyuvarāja.	25 „	25 „	25 „	25 „	25 „
5. Jayasimha II.	13 „	13 „	13 „	13 „	13 „
6. Kokkili.	6 months	6 mts	6 mts	6 mts	6 months.
7. Vishṇuvardhana III.	35 yrs	37 „	39 „	37 „	37 years.
*8. Vijayāditya I.	18 „	19 yrs	19 yrs	19 yrs	18 „
9. Vishṇuvardhana IV.	35 „	36 „	35 „	36 „	35 „
*10. Vijayāditya II. •	40 „	41 „	40 „	40 „	44 „
*11. Kalivittara.	18 ms	20 ms	20 ms	20 ms	18 months.

Another interesting fact mentioned in this grant is that Vishṇuvardhana IV. ruled over Veṅgimaṇḍala twelve thousand while nothing of that sort has been stated with reference to his father Vijayāditya I. To me, this appears to suggest that the extent of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom was reduced in his time to Veṅgimaṇḍala twelve thousand only, on account of incessant warfare with the Rastrakūtas and their allies.<sup>10</sup> The expression Veṅgimaṇḍala twelve thousand, is inexplicable Lakshmana Rao thought it to mean, the population of the Veṅgimaṇḍala; while other scholars considered it to express the number of revenue paying units or *Grāmās* in the territorial division called Veṅgimaṇḍala. I think both the theories are untenable. 'Twelve thousand' might be the amount of the revenue expressed in the coinage of the country, of the time, preferably, in gold *varāhas*. The expression cannot in any sense mean either the population or the number of villages or revenue paying units. It might also convey a sense of its extent expressed in terms of *kros* (two mile) which is a very ancient word denoting the distance; that is to say Veṅgimaṇḍala whose area was twelve thousand square *kros*. Mr. Lakshmana Rao quotes from *Panditārādhya-charitra* of Pāṅkurki Sōmanātha Kavi of the 13th century, a long passage wherein the extents of various countries in ancient India are described. We have several instances in the inscriptions of South India where references to the extent of the countries are given in a similar manner. For instance, we have *Sārtha-sapta-laksha* of Dakṣiṇapatha,<sup>11</sup> the *Sārtha-sapta-laksha* of Rattavādi, Gangavādi ninty six thousand, Nōlambavādi

10 See my *History of Rajahmundry* in this Journal above vol, III p. 148 where this fact was discussed at some length.

11 Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya; *Ep. Ind.* vol, VI p. 352. •

32,000, Banavāsi 12,000, Pākanāḍu\* 21,000. Though Mañchana Kavi mentions Pākanāḍu as consisting 21,000 *grāmas*,<sup>12</sup> grama cannot be taken to mean a village\* but a unit of extent or area. Nevertheless, there is no reference in any of the earlier inscriptions to Pākanāḍu with 21,000 grāmas prior to Manchana Kavi who flourished in the early part of the 13th century.

All the inscriptions of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, except the Masulipatam plates mention that Vijayāditya II, surnamed Narēndramṛṅgarāja had a brother named Bhīma Saluke, who held Vēṅgi as a vassal of the Rāshtrakūṭa king and that the former wrested the kingdom from him and reigned for forty years. Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhaṇḍarkar thought that the Vēṅgi king who was held as a vassal by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. (A.D. 784—814) to be Vijayāditya II. (A.D. 799—840) because he happened to be his contemporary.<sup>13</sup> But Vijayāditya II. cannot be taken to be the prince that paid such humiliating allegiance to Gōvinda III., that he went to build the walls of Manyakhēṭa at the half utterance of the sentence by a messenger. Now the subjoined grant and the other grants discovered thus far, particularly the Tāmulapāḍu, Guṇṭur and Pōnangi Plates prove that it was Bhīma Saluke who held Vēṅgi as a vassal of Gōvinda III. for a period of twelve years in all probability, and that it was from him that Vijayāditya II. wrested the kingdom after successfully carrying on a war with his brother on the one hand and the Rāshtrakūṭa and Western Gāṅga armies on the other. It was only during the last days of Gōvinda III. when his power was weakened and when all the powers of the north and the south entered into a confederacy and threatened to bring about the disruption of the the great Rāshtrakūṭa empire so powerfully built by him that Vijayāditya II. rallied his forces and drove out his brother from the country, defeated the combined armies of the Rāshtrakūṭas and Gāṅgas and became its undisputed master. To expiate for the sins, probably, of killing his own kith and kin during that twelve years of intestine warfare, that Vijayāditya II built 108 temples to the god Śiva under his own name as *Narēndreśvara-svāmin* all over Vēṅgi maṇḍala.

The subjoined grant mentions that Vijayāditya III planted before the threshold of his residence, the invincible banner containing the symbols of the rivers Gangā and Yamuna, the sun and the moon, and the *pālikētana*, and that at the hearing of the five great sounds made by his troops his (Vijayāditya's) enemies were terrified. The symbols of the rivers Gangā and Yamuna as well as the *pālikētana* were the royal insignia of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Manyakhēṭa, acquired by Govinda III.

12 In *Keyurabahu-charitram* dedicated to Nanduri Gōvinda mantri minister to the last prince of the Velanānti family of Tsandavou.

13 See above vol. III p. 151 *History of Rajahmundry*.

The fact of Vijayāditya's planting the *pāṭidhvaja* with the symbols of the Gangā and Yamunā at his threshold seems to suggest that by the date of the grant, he defeated Rāshtrakūṭas and crushed their power completely. Vijayāditya III. seems to bear another surname *Vīramakaradhvajah* in addition to those mentioned his Guntur plates, namely *Manuja prākāra Ramaranga śātraka*, *Vikramadharāja*, *Parachakravāma*, *Nṛpati-marlāṇḍa*, *Bīrudānka Bhīma*, *Arasanka kēsari* *Gunake nallān* and *Tripurāmarāja Mahēśvara*. The last mentioned surname is also found in the Veṇṇataluru Grant of his successor Chālukya Bhīma I.

The village granted is Śāntagrāma and is said to have been situated in the district (*viśaya*) of Guḍrahāra, which is apparently identical with the modern town of Guḍivāḍa. The Guḍrahāra viśaya at the time of this inscription seems to have comprised the modern tālukas of Guḍivāḍa, Kaikaluru, Masulipatam or Bandar and a little tract on the southern side of the river Krishna. It is therefore possible that Śāntagrāma, the village granted might be identified with Sātaluru in the Bandar taluk, the place where these plates were discovered and the boundary villages mentioned in the inscription help us in that direction considerably. The villages Urivi, Arutagūru, Muñjulūru and Tuñburuballi are still existing, and curiously enough with very much the identical names, excepting for slight phonetical changes. Only Arutagūru is now known as Artamūru and Tuñburuballi has become Tuñbiḍi. All these villages are now situated around and in the neighbourhood of Śāntagrāma, which is called today Sātanu. The reason for the change in the name of the village granted is quite apparent. *Ūru* in Telugu, means *grāma* in Sanskrit and Śāntagrāma therefore in Telugu became Śāntalūru, which again in the lapse of time, on account of phonetical changes peculiar to the Telugu Language, became Sātaluru, the initial palatal sibilant *śā* becoming dental sibilant *sā*, and the medial *n* dropping out altogether. It might also, be that the poet in composing the grant sanskritised the Prakrit or the original name Sataluru (called after the half mythical and half historical ancestor of the Satavahanas) into Śāntagrāma. But both these are mere conjectures. The village Śāntagrāma was bounded on the east by Penubūndi, on the south by Arutagūru, on the south west by Muñjulūru, on the west by Urivi, on the north by Tuñburuballi and on the north-east by Muludupendūru. Of these villages two only, Penubūndi and Muludupendūru are not capable of identification.

There is one expression in the grant *nāti kunthā* which I am not able to understand. Lakshmana Rao did not notice this. The village is said to have been granted along with the *nāti kunthā* (ll. 34 and 40). I have not been able to trace this expression to any of the Sanskrit or Telugu Dictionaries; and therefore I cannot take it to be purely either a Sanskrit or a Telugu word. It might be a compound of

two words, Sanskrit and Telugu. As we know, that *kunta* in Telugu means either a tank or a term of land measurement, we might take the expression *nāti kunṭha* to mean 'with all the tanks adjoining the village.'

The donees of the grant were all residents of villages situated in the modern Gunṭūr and Krishna districts. Vangiparru Kāramichēdu, Kaṭṭōra, Vagiparru, Uppuṭūru, Krāñja, Krōvaśri, Rāyūru, Kunduru, and Śrīpuram are said to be villages from which the donees came. Vangiparru and Vagiparru might be identical, the scribe having omitted the dot denoting the *anusvāra*. Except Kaṭṭōra and Kunduru, the remaining villages are still existing with slightly altered spelling. Krāñja is Kāja, Krōvaśri is probably Kovvali and Śrīpuram is Siripuram is Tenali Tālūka.

The executor (Ājñapti) of this grant is Pāṇḍaranga, the great-grandson of Bhattachākāla (ll. 82-83.). In all the grants of Vijayāditya III. Pāṇḍaranga figures as the *ājñapti*, and he is said to be the minister and commander-in-chief of the king. He is described as *Mahāgunah* "who made his enemies pay obeisance to him by the victories he had obtained with his sword." The Pōnangi plates of the king mention Kaḍṇya rāya, father of Pāṇḍaranga who died fighting by the side of his master Parachakravāna i.e. Vijayāditya III., on the battle field.

The names of the donees and their residence are given as follows:

Names	Residence	Shares	Names	Residence	Shares
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*Gotra* not mentioned.

1	Yajñaśarman	Vangiparru	3
2	Guṇḍaśarman	..	1
3	Vidaḍiśarman	..	1
4	Drōṇaśarman	..	1/2

*Kata Gotra*

5	Budaḍiśarman	..	2
6	Vennaśarman	..	2

*Kutsa Gotra*

7	Tūrkaśarman	Krova Śrī	2
8	Boppanaśarman	..	1

*Parāśara Gotra*

9	Drōṇaśarman	Karamichēdu	1 1/2
10	Kañchiśarman	..	2
11	Drōṇaśarman	..	2
12	Baddiśarman	..	5
13	Viraśarman	Uppuṭūru	1 1/2
14	Chāmiśarman	..	1
15	Trivikarmaśarman	..	1
16	Bhīmaśarman	..	1

*Parāśara Gotra (contd.)*

17	Bavvaśarman	..	1
18	Dugaśarman	..	1/2
19	Bhīmaśarman	..	1

*Bhāradvāja Gotra*

20	Śivaśarman	Kaṭṭōra	3
21	Rēvaśarman	..	1
22	Sivikuṇḍaśarman	..	1
23	Agyapaśarman	Krōva Śrī	1
24	Vennaśarman	..	1
25	Guṇḍaśarman	..	1
26	Kēśavaśarman	Uppuṭūru	1
27	Guḍaśarman	..	1
28	Nāgaśarman	..	1
29	Kandaśarman	Kunduru	1
30	Eṇaśarman	Kāramichēdu	1
31	Drōṇaśarman	..	1
32	Sivaśarman	..	1/2
33	Vallavayyaśarman	..	1
34	Rēvaśarman	..	1

Names Residence Shares			Names Residence Shares		
<i>Śaṇḍila Gōtra</i>			<i>Kausika Gōtra</i>		
35	Pētaśarman	Kaṭṭora 1	59	Koṇḍiśarman	Uppuṭūru 2
36	Ayyappaśarman	„ 1½	68	Pittamaśarman	Krañja 1
<i>Devarata Gōtra</i>			61	Kavaṇiśarman	Krōva Śrī 1
37	Vakaśarman	„ 1	62	Drōṇaśarman	Kunduru 1
38	Savvaśarman	„ 1	<i>Kāśyapa Gōtra</i>		
39	Kuṇḍiśarman	„ 1	63	Rudvaśarman	Uppuṭūru 1
<i>Hurita Gōtra</i>			64	Gōlaśarman	„ 1½
40	Rēvaśarman	Vaṅgipaṭṭu 2	65	Rudvaśarman	„ 1½
41	Drōṇaśarman	„ 1½	66	Gōlaśarman	„ 1
42	Kaṁchiśarman	Kāraṁchēdu 1	67	Eṭaśarman	„ 2
43	Mahidhaśarman	„ 1	68	Mahākālaśarman	Krañja 1
44	Dēvakaraśarman	„ 1	69	Drōṇaśarman	„ 1½
45	Sankaraśarman	„ 1	70	Nārāyaṇaśarma	„ 1
46	Sabadiśarman	Śrīpurath 2½	71	Bōpaśarman	Rayūru 1
<i>Kōṇḍinda (Kaundinya) Gōtra</i>			<i>Kaṁva Gōtra</i>		
47	Śrīdharaśarman	Vaṅgipaṭṭu 3	72	Savvaśarman	Kaṁchēdu 2
48	Damaśarman	„ 1	73	Chamiśarman	„ 1
49	Kēśavaśarman	„ 1	<i>Radhita Gōtra</i>		
50	Trivikramaśarman	„ 1½	74	Nārāyaṇaśarman	Krōvaśrī 1
51	Drōṇaśarman	Krañja 1	<i>Lōhita Gōtra</i>		
52	Iṛūgamaśarman	„ 1	75	Gōyindaśarman	Kaṁchēdu 1
53	Bhīmaśarman	„ 1	<i>Ālṛēja Gōtra</i>		
54	Madhuvaṇaśarman	„ 1	76	Nārāyaṇaśarman	Uppuṭūru 3
55	Sōmaśarman	Vaṅgipaṭṭu 1½	<i>Agniśya Gōtra</i>		
56	Drōṇaśarman	„ 1	77	Mayindamaśarman	Rāyūru 1
57	Mādhavaśarman	„ 1	<i>Gautama Gōtra</i>		
58	Drōṇaśarman	„ 1	78	Drōṇaśarman	Kunduru 1
			79	Baṭaśarman	Vaṅgipaṭṭu 2

Though the grant records gift of the Village to a hundred brāhmaṇas, only 79 names are given, and the remaining 21 are left out. Probably it was due to a mistake on the part on the scribe or the composer of the grant. Of these 100 donees, 20 bear the title *Bhaṭṭa*, 30 studied the four Vedas, 30 studied three Vedas, and 20 studies one Vēda.

The name of the poet who composed grant is not mentioned. But it is said that it was inscribed by the scribe Iḷkhakāditya, born of the Viśvakarma *kula*, who knew the record well. He is described as being very old, as old as the Viśvakarma himself and as having built a *Ghantaśāla* probably meaning a bell factory or a factory to manufacture styles (*ghanta*),

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>*First plate, Second side.*

- 1 स्वस्ति। श्रीमतां सकलभुवन संस्तूय मानमानव्यस गोवाना<sup>2</sup> हरीतिपुवानां<sup>3</sup> कौ  
 2 क्षिकी वरप्रसाद लब्धराज्यनां<sup>4</sup> मातृगन<sup>5</sup> परिपाली<sup>6</sup> तानां स्वामिमहीसेन पादा  
 3 नुध्यातानां भगवण्णारयण<sup>7</sup> प्रसाद समासादित वरवर<sup>8</sup> हलान्छने क्षन<sup>9</sup> क्ष  
 4 णीवाशि<sup>10</sup> कृताराति मण्डलानां अश्रमेधावभृथम्न(१\*) न पवितृ<sup>11</sup> कृतवपुषां जालु  
 5 क्यानां कुलमलन्करिणोः सत्याश्रयवह्नेन्द्रस्य भ्रतादकुब्ज विष्णुवर्द्धन<sup>12</sup> अष्टा  
 6 श वर्षनि<sup>13</sup> तस्यसूनुः सकललोकाश्रयो जयसिंहवह्नेभः त्रयस्तृशद्वर्षानि<sup>14</sup>  
 7 तस्यानुजस्य डन्द्रमहाराकस्य प्रय<sup>15</sup> तनयः विष्णुराजः नववर्षानि<sup>16</sup> तस्यसुतं<sup>17</sup>

*Second plate, First side.*

- 8 मंगिदौश<sup>18</sup> राजः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षानि<sup>19</sup> तस्यपुत्रः जयसिंहवह्नेभः<sup>20</sup> त्रयोदश व  
 9 पणी<sup>21</sup> तस्यानुजः द्वैमातुरकोक्किलि. पण्मसान्<sup>22</sup> तस्याप्रजः विष्णुर[१\*] जः स्व[१] नुजमुखा  
 10 त्र्य पञ्चवृंश<sup>23</sup> द्विषाणी<sup>24</sup> तस्यात्मजः विजयादित्यमहाराज अष्टाद(शव\*) र्षानि<sup>25</sup> तस्यत  
 11 नयः विष्णुवर्द्धनः पञ्चवृंशद्वर्षाणी<sup>26</sup> द्वादशसहस्रप्रमाण वे[न्]गी<sup>27</sup> मण्डलं<sup>28</sup>  
 12 मन्वपालयन्<sup>29</sup> तस्यज्येष्ठः विजयादित्यः आदित्य इव सततोदयकरि<sup>30</sup> विन्ध्याट  
 13 विव<sup>31</sup> सुवंश शताधारः मेरुरिव मुर्ध्ववर्त्तीकृत<sup>32</sup> तनुः(\*) हरजट(१) मकुट इ(वर्गं) गा  
 14 रव प्रतिबन्धन समर्त्त<sup>33</sup> मुरपतिगज इव सततदान [करी] विष्णुरि(व\*) व

1. From the ink impressions supplied to me kindly by Mr. M. S. Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia Office.

- |  |   |                            |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| 2 Read <i>gotrānām</i>                           | 3 Read <i>putrānām</i> .  | 4. Read <i>rājyānām</i>    |
| 5. Read <i>gana</i>                              | 6. Read <i>pālita</i> .   | 7. Read <i>Nārāyaṇa</i>    |
| 8. Read <i>varāha</i>                            | 9. Read <i>kṣana</i>  | 10. Read <i>kṣana-vāsi</i> |
| 11. Read <i>pavitri</i>                          | 12. The dots found by Lakshmana Rao above the letter <i>na</i> , and which he meant were inserted for denoting the <i>visarga</i> are not in fact dots but corrosions of the metal caused probably on account of rust washing on the plate. | 13. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>    |
| 14 Read <i>Strayas-triṃśad-varṣāṇi</i> .         | 15. Read <i>priya</i>   | 16. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>    |
| 17. Read <i>sutah</i> .                          | 18. The letter 'śa' is not clear, it looks like 'ga'  |                            |
| 19. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>                          | 20. Read <i>simha</i>   | 21. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>    |
| 22 Read <i>śarmāsān</i>                          | 23. Read <i>triṃśa</i>  | 24. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>    |
| 25. Read <i>varṣāṇi</i>                          | 26. Read <i>triṃśad-varṣāṇi</i>   | 27. Read <i>Vēṅgī</i>      |
| 28. The annsvara after <i>la</i> is superfluous. | 29. Read <i>pālayat</i>   | 30. Read <i>karī</i>       |
| 31. Read <i>vīva</i>                             | 32. Read <i>suvarṇavarṇa-kṛita</i> .  | 33. Read <i>samarthaḥ</i>  |

## Second plate, Second side.

- 15 लि रिपु मतणः<sup>34</sup> शेषमहानाग इव भूधरणक्षमभुजः महाव्रतिक<sup>35</sup> महाशंख  
 16 ध्वनि विराजनः स[कलगंग\*]कुल गर्जजलदधटकोटिविज्ञासन विशिष्ट मा  
 17 रुतः अपिचं<sup>36</sup> श्री[मद्गुर्म्म]स्य मूची<sup>38</sup> स्तुभ(ट\*)मधुपस द्वाधना भोर<sup>39</sup>हाभ[ः]\*]  
 शौर्याग्न्यु  
 18 त्पति<sup>40</sup> बीजप्रय<sup>41</sup>वचनमनेराकरः<sup>42</sup> सर्व्वसन्तो[।\*] कीर्त्ति<sup>43</sup> स्त्रिवल्लभ स्तत्कुलग्रहम  
 19 मलं सत्यवानी<sup>44</sup> कुमार्या [ः।\*] विद्वद्गुन्दस्यधाम . प्रकटमवनिपो गोबनिस्त[।\*]रकां  
 कः (॥ १\* )  
 20 अष्टोत्तरशत न(रे\*)श्वरेश्वरदेव(।\*)लयानां कर्त्ता द्वादश वर्ष युद्धं वल्लभेन्द्र दण्ड  
 21 न्ययैःसह भीमसल्लुकेन(।)मानस्व(।)नुजं निर्जित्य गृ(ही\*)त वेंगिमण्डल (ः)  
 चत्वारिंश<sup>45</sup>

## Third plate, First side.

- 21 द्वर्षाणि (।\*) तस्यसुतः । <sup>46</sup>अरिनुपवाजिवारणपदाति महाभ्रविमामारुतः (।) पर  
 23 करिकरि सस्ति<sup>47</sup>तासिभरुचि प्रविनाशन भानुसन्निभः(।\*) गुरुतरादिन<sup>48</sup> भागवत<sup>49</sup>  
 2 म[।]नवम[।]नित कल्पपादपः (।\*)वरकरिगङ्गभूमिपभुजा सिरिहाजी(जि)भुवि प्रहा  
 2 मते [॥ २\*] कलिविद्व नामावर्षाद्धं तस्यसूनुः विजयादित्यः अनेकतुलाधृतसुवर्ण<sup>50</sup>  
 2 दानधारासन्त(स्पितब्राह्म\*)णानि कुर्मः गुणकेनलनिति जयगीयमानकीर्त्तिः( ) स  
 27 नदक्षिणापथसत्रिकलिङ्गदेशमन्वपालया(मास) एव<sup>51</sup> पञ्चविष्णुवर्द्ध(न)नामानःद्वौज  
 28 यसि<sup>52</sup>हनामानौ एकोमगिथूवराज (ः\*)<sup>53</sup>त्रय(।) विजयादित्य नामानः (।\*) तत्र  
 वितिय<sup>54</sup> वि

## Third plate, Second side.

- 29 जयादित्य द्वारिप्रतिष्ठापित गंगायमुन[।\*] चन्द्रादित्यहली(ल)केतन समधिगतः  
 30 पञ्चमह(शब्द)श्रवणविज्ञासित मतुरा<sup>55</sup>शश्वके वराहलान्छन वीरमकरध्वजः[॥\*]

34. Read *mathanah* 35. Read *praliva* 36. The *anusvāra* on *cha* is superfluous. 37. Metre *Śāṇḍulavikrīḍitā*. 38. Read *mārti* 39. Read *nāmbha*  
 40. Read *tpatti* 41. Read *priya* 42. Read *man* 43. Read *kīrti-*  
*strivallabha* 44. Read *vāṇi* 45. Read *rimśa* 46. Metre *Chūmpaka*  
 47. Read *kara-susthī* 48. Read *dīna* 49. *Bhāgavata* 50. Read *suvarṇa*  
 51. Read *Evam* 52. Read *simha*. 53. Read *yuvārāja* 54. Read *tritiya*  
 55. Read *chaṭurā*. Both the readings are good.



- 31 <sup>56</sup>सत्येनधर्मपुत्रः कर्म<sup>57</sup>[:\*]त्यागेन विक्रमेन<sup>58</sup> हरिः [1\*] नृपकाम [:\*] स्वाम्यनुजो  
विप्रेभ्यो 'दी  
32 दि[श] द्राम<sup>59</sup> [11३] <sup>60</sup>अदाकुचनकन्दर्पः ग्राम<sup>61</sup>द्विजशतायतं[1]प्रेरितस्वानुजेनाथनृप  
33 कर्मेन सूरये[11४\*] <sup>62</sup>शान्तग्रामममुरं(1)जसोपग्राम<sup>63</sup> विनाकरम्[1\*]नातिकुण्ठेनसाकं  
34 द्वि दत्तवान्मत्त<sup>64</sup> भुमुरः[11५\*] पुनरपितस्यै (व\*) राज्ञ (:\*) विशेषण<sup>65</sup> ॥ <sup>66</sup>सत्य  
वचनोय (म)सुरो  
35 न ससुरार्थिप भयाद्भवति सत्यपचनः (1\*) शौर्य्यगुणवान्मृ [गपति]र्भ सविर्विकम

*Fourth plate, First side.*

- 36 तितो भवति शौर्य्यगुणवान् [1\*] दानविभवो रविसुतो न सपतिम्बलतो भव  
37 ति दानविभवः (1\*) सत्यवरशौर्य्य परदानविभवस्तु नृपकामनृपतिः प्रकृतितः॥ ६\*]  
38 विजयदित्य भूपति [:\*] स्वानुजेननृपकामेनप्रेरित [:\*] मूर्य्यप्रहण निमित्त्य<sup>67</sup>स विज  
39 यादित्य[:\*] राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटिबिन<sup>68</sup> सर्वा निथ्यमाज्ञापयति विदित मस्तुवा<sup>69</sup> र्ज्ञा  
40 भिः गुद्रावाविषये शन्तग्रामे<sup>70</sup>नातिकुण्ठसहितं द्विजशता य)दत्तवान्[1\*] वेदिवेश<sup>71</sup>  
41 गेतिहास पुराणादि चतु(ष\*ष्टि कलानिशाकलेभ्य<sup>72</sup>(:\*) परमब्रह्मविद्भ्यःपरि<sup>73</sup>तामि  
42 होन्नागानुष्ठानपरेभ्यः शमदमयमनियमा श्री(श्रि)त शौचाचारशील गुणगना<sup>74</sup>

*Fourth plate, Second side.*

- 43 लंकृत शरीरपद्भ्य धात्रार्य्यमादिद्वादशादित्यसमानभ्राजित कीर्त्तिभ्यःतथाहिप्रति  
44 ग्राहका (:) स्वस्ति श्रीमत्त वांगिप<sup>75</sup>स्तव्याय यज्ञशर्मणे त्रयोभागाः गुण्डशर्मणे  
एकोभागः  
45 विदडिशर्मणे एकोभागः द्रोणशर्मणे अद्भुश<sup>76</sup> करमिचेडु वास्तव्याय पराशरगो  
46 त्राय द्रोणशर्मणे अध्यर्द्धकोभागः कश्चिशर्मणे द्वौभागौ द्रोणशर्मणे द्वौभागौ ब  
47 दिशर्मणे पञ्चतोभागाः<sup>77</sup> क<sup>78</sup>वास्तव्याय भारद्वाज गोत्राय शिवन शर्मणे त्रयोभ  
48 गाः रेवशर्मणे एकोभागः<sup>79</sup>शिविकु<sup>80</sup>शर्मणे एकोभागा<sup>81</sup>शण्डिलगोत्राय पेतशर्मणे

56. Metre *Arya* 57. Read *karm* 58. Read *tVikramēna* 59. *il-grāmam*.

60. Metre *Anushtub* 61. Read *grāmam* 62. Metre 63. Read *grāmam*

64. Read *vānnata-bhū* 65. Read *viśeṣaṇam* 66. Metre

67. Read *nimittam* 68. Read *kutumbinah* 69. Read *vōsmā*

70. Read *grāmō* 71. Read *Vēḍa-vē lamje*. 72. Read *karēbhyaḥ*

73. Read *parilāgni* 74. Read *gaṇā* 75. Read *arthāmsaḥ*

76. Read *pañchamō-bhāgaḥ*. 77. Read *bhāgaḥ* 78. Read *bhāgaḥ*

49 एकोभागः अय्यप्पशर्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागः देवरतगोत्राय वकशर्मणे एकोभा[गः]

*Fifth plate, First side.*

50 सव्वशर्मणे एकोभागाः<sup>80</sup> कुण्डिशर्मणे एकोभागा<sup>81</sup> वगिप<sup>82</sup> स्तव्याय कतगोत्राय बु  
51 द्दशर्मणे द्वौभागौ वेन्नशर्मणे अर्द्धशः<sup>82</sup> हरीतगोत्राय रेवशर्मणे द्वौभागौ त्रौण  
52 शर्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागः कोण्डिन्द गोत्राय श्रीधरशर्मणे त्रयोभागाः दमशर्मणे एको[भा]  
53 गा<sup>83</sup> केशवशर्मणे एकोभागः त्रिविक्रमशर्मणे अर्द्धशः<sup>84</sup> उपट्टरू<sup>85</sup> व[र] स्तव्याय कौ  
54 शिकगोत्राय कोण्डिशर्मणे द्वौभागौ काश्यपगोत्राय<sup>86</sup> द्दशर्मणे एकोभागः गो  
55 ठ शर्मणे अर्द्धशः<sup>87</sup> द्दशर्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागः गोळशर्मणे एकोभागः ए<sup>88</sup> शर्मणे ए  
56 कोभागः कंजवास्तव्याय काश्यपगोत्राय महाकाळशर्मणे द्वौभागौ [त्रोण]मश[र्म]

*Fifth plate, Second side.*

57 ने अर्द्धशः नारायणशर्मणे एकोभागः कौशिकगोत्राय पिट्टमशर्मणे एकोभागः कोण्डिन्द  
58 गोत्राय त्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः कारमिचेडुवास्तव्याय कण्वगोत्र(र)य सर्वशर्मणे द्वौ  
59 भागौ चामिशर्मणे एकोभागः हरीत गोत्र(र)य कञ्चिशर्मणे एकोभागः महिधरशर्मणे  
60 एकोभागः दिवकरशर्मणे एकोभागः शंकरशर्मणे एकोभागः क्रोवश्री वास्तव्या  
61 य रथीतरगोत्राय नारायणशर्मणे एकोभागः भारद्वाजगोत्राय आग्यपशर्मणे  
62 एकोभागः वेन्नशर्मणे एकोभागः गुण्डशर्मणे एकोभागः कुत्सगोत्राय तर्कशर्मणे  
63 द्वौभागौ बोप्पणशर्मणे एकोभागः कौशिकगोत्राय रविणशर्मणे एकोभागः कार

*Sixth plate, First side.*

64 ञ्जु व[र] स्तव्याय लोहितगोत्र(र)य गोयिन्दशर्मणे एकोभागः कोण्डिन्दगोत्राय इरुगमश  
65 र्मणे एकोभागः भीमशर्मणे एकोभागः मधुवणशर्मणे एकोभागः उपट्टरूवा  
66 स्तव्याय भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवशर्मणे एकोभागः गुण्डशर्मणे एकोभागः नागश  
67 र्मणे एकोभागः आत्रेयगोत्राय नराय(ण\*)शर्मणे त्रयोभागाः रायूरुवास्तव्या  
68 य अग्निवेश्यगोत्राया<sup>87</sup> मयिन्दमशर्मणे एकोभागः काश्यपगोत्राय बोपशर्मणे  
69 एकोभागः कुण्डुरुवास्तव्य(र)य गौतमगोत्राय त्रोणशर्मणे द्वौभागौ भारद्वाजगोत्राय क  
70 न्दशर्मणे एकोभागः उपट्टरूवास्तव्य<sup>86</sup> पराशरगोत्राय वीरशर्मणे अद्ध्यर्द्धकोभागः  
71 चामिशर्मणे एकोभागः त्रिविक्रमशर्मणे एको

80 Read *bhāgaḥ*

81 Read *bhāgaḥ*.

82 Read *ardhāmsaḥ*.

83 Read *bhāgaḥ*

84 Read *ardhāmsaḥ*.

85 Read *Upputūru*

86 Read *gotrāya*.

87 Read *gotrāya*.

88 *Upputūru-vāstavayāya*

## Sixth plate, Second side.

- 72 भागः बन्वशर्मणे एकोभागः दुगशर्मणे अर्द्ध(१)शः बीमशर्मणे एकोभागः (बं)गिषष्<sup>९०</sup>,  
 73 (स्त)न्यायगौतमगोत्र(१)यबटशर्मणे एकोभागः कोण्डिन्दांगोत्राय सोमशर्मणे अर्द्ध(को)  
 74 भागः द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः माधवशर्मणे एकोभागः द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभा(गः)कुन्दुर  
 75 ब । स्तव्याय कौशिकगोत्राय द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः कारश्चेडुवास्तव्याय [भा]रद्वा<sup>९१</sup>  
 76 भारद्वाजगोत्राय ए७शर्मणे एकोभागः द्रोणशर्मणे एकोभागः शिव(शर्मणे) अ  
 77 द्वांशः बल्लन(व्य)शर्मणे एकोभागः रेवशर्मणे एकोभागः श्रीपुरवास्तव्य(१)य हरीतगोत्रा  
 78 य सबडिशर्म[णे] अर्द्धको] द्वौभागौ ॥ भट्ट(१)नां विंशतिश्च(१)पि एकवेदा<sup>९०</sup> च  
 विंशति [ः\*] तंशत्<sup>९१</sup> त्रिवेदिन  
 79 स्तद्वत् चतुर्वेदवदाश[ति]<sup>९२</sup> ॥७ \* तत्रानुष्ठीयम(१)न(१)स्ते आशीर्त्वा स्वभूयते[।\*]  
 सदास (घुष्ट<sup>९३</sup>)<sup>९३</sup>  
 80 वेदाश्च सुखं जीवन्तु भूसुराः [।\*] अस्यावधयः पूर्वतः[ः\*] पेनुबूण्डिसीमै[व\*]  
 दक्षिण[तः] अ७७त  
 81 गूरुसि[सी]मै [व\*] नैरतितः[ः\*]<sup>९४</sup> मु(मु)न्जलूरुसीमै[व\*] पश्चिमतः उरिविसीमै [व\*]  
 उतरतः<sup>९५</sup> तुंवुरुबल्लिसि(सी)  
 82 मै[व\*]<sup>९६</sup> शनतः मुलुडु पेन्दो७७सीमै[व\*] चतुरवधिक्षेत्र<sup>९७</sup> दत्तवान् ॥ आज्ञपि  
 रस्यधर्मस्य पा  
 83 ण्डरंगो महागुणः [।\*] (सा)सिधारासमुच्छिन्न विद्विद्वृ<sup>९८</sup>न्दोपवन्दित [ः॥९\*]  
 कृतवान् भट्ट कालस्य  
 84 पुत्रोपौत्रे महि(ही)तले [।\*] गगणा<sup>९९</sup>दिगर्भसद्गुद्विशासनं कर्मनसनम्<sup>१००</sup> [॥१०\*]  
 लेखको  
 ८५ लेखकादित्य (ः\*) शासनस्यास्य पण्डितः (।\*) विश्वकर्मवयोभाति घण्टाशलाखकार  
 कम (॥११) बहुभि  
 86 र्वमुवादत्त(१) बहुभिश्च(१)नुपालिता[।\*] यस्य यस्य द<sup>१०१</sup> भमितस्य तस्य ततफलः<sup>१०२</sup>  
 [॥\*] स्वदत्त<sup>१०३</sup>  
 87 परदत्तावायोहरेतु वसुन्धरः<sup>१०४</sup> (।\*) षष्टिवर्ष सहस्रनि<sup>१०५</sup> विषया<sup>१०६</sup> जायते किमि (ः॥\*)

## Seventh plate, Second side.

- 83 दत्तहरयिताभूमि<sup>१०७</sup>

89 The word 'Bhāradvāja' occurs twice owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. 90. Read *Ēka-Vēdaścha*. 91. Read *trimsat*.

92. Read *r-Vēdaścha-trimsati*. 93. Probable rendering 'sadā samdhuṣṭa'

94. Read *noiruti taḥ*. 95. Read *Uitarataḥ*. 96. Read *aiśānataḥ*.

97. Read *Kṣētrum*. 98. Read *Vidvid-brundō*. 99. Read *gayanaḍi*.

100. Read *karma-nāśanam*. 101. Read *bhāni*. 102. Read *tudāphalam*

103. Read *svadattām*. 104. Read *Vasumdharam*. 1 5. Read *sahasraṇi*.

106 Read *Viṣṭayām*. 107 Here the inscription breaks off incompletely.

## STONE INSCRIPTION NEAR SIVA TEMPLE AT SANTABOMMALI.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB

RAJAH BAHADUR, RAJAH SAHEB OF TEKKALI.

The history of the Śiṣṭa Kārṇams, who are a branch of Utkals inhabiting Kalingadēśa since a very long time may be considered by the historians along with the other histories. There were days when these Śiṣṭa Kārṇams made the car of Kalinga Rājya move very victoriously.

It is evident that during the time of the rule of the Kadamba dynasty the present village of Kōṭabommālī was built by a brave person in commemoration of his name Vanamālī Janna and the village was called Santabommālī. It was called so because it was the centre of trade in those days. As mentioned in Śiṣṭa Kārṇa Charitra written by Pandit D. N. Śarma, it is evident that the Śiṣṭakārṇams came to Kōṭabommālī in Ś.Ś. 805. It is nearly 1000 years since the Kadamba kings ruled over Kōṭabommālī. So we can infer that the Śiṣṭakārṇams lived in Kōṭabommālī since 945 years. The details relating to this may be well known from the article of the history of Kadamba dynasty written by me and published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry in its "Kalingadēśa Charitra."

There is a Śiva temple at a distance of 4 miles from Santabommālī. As the deity (Śivaliṅgam) therein shines milk-like, Āndhras call it as Pālēśvara and as it is in the form of fruit (phala) Utkals call it as Phālēśvara and thus it is called by two names. But the deity might be called by the name of Phālāksha. It is an ordinary temple. It does not look like an ancient temple if we take its architecture into consideration. It seems that this ancient and famous temple became gradually dilapidated and so it was removed and a new temple came to be constructed at the same place. By the side of the temple there is a stone containing some inscriptions. The same stone is broken into two pieces. As this stone is utilized for grinding sandal-wood paste by the archakas as well as by the people that pay visits to the temple it must have been broken. The stone containing the inscription is 4 ft. length in length, 2 feet breadth and 4 inches in thickness. There are 11 lines in Telugu script and the inscription is in Sanskrit language in Sragdhara vṛtta.

The above stone inscription must have been found on the wall of the above temple. The constructor of the present temple (being unaware of the inscription) thinking that the fame of this charitable endow

ment would go to the inscriber of this inscription if it is kept in the present temple has put it outside.

Text of the Inscription.

- १ ओं स्वस्ति श्री शाकाब्दे
- २ [चन्द्र] राजो वसुविषय
- ३ वियच्छङ्क संख्ये प्रया
- ४ ते श्रीवत्सान्वय देवशर्म
- ५ तनयोस्त्रिनविशाले वनर्ष (?) [1]
- ६ शून्या यासोमन्त्रजो
- ७ वरगुणानिलयः सूर्य्य
- ८ संसेचलाहे [दीप]
- ९ प्रादादखण्डं त्रिभु
- १० वनगुरवो शम्भवोकीर्त्ति
- ११ बाणः ॥

Brief Translation:

Om! Svasti. Vasu = 8 Vishaya = 5 Viyachchanka = 12 (when the figures are written in this way figures must be calculated from right to left) Thus it will be S.S. 1258 i.e. A.D. 1369 In S.S. 1258 i.e. 1366 Christian era, during the time of Chandra Rāja Kīrtibāṇa the son of Dēvaśarma of Śrīvatsagōtra granted a perpetual lamp in the middle of the vast jungle to Śāmbhu who is Tribhuvanaguru on Saturday which was Sankramāṇa day. Kīrtibāṇa was not a lazy person. He performed many *yajñas*. In 1336 A.D. this was under the rule of Utkal king. Therefore the donor of the perpetual lamp Kīrtibāṇa might have been a subordinate ruler of Utkal king. There are still people of Śrīvatsagōtra in Bommālī. At the temple there is an idol of *Malishāśuramardanī*. It is a very old idol. Both this idol as well as the stone inscription require preservation.

There are some inscriptions and grants to state that Chandra Dēva mentioned in this inscription was subordinate to the Utkal king and that he invaded the South. It is also inferred that this brave ruler invaded up to Koṇḍaviḍu. If this fact were to be true this Chandra Dēva might be the same Chandra Dēva in Gaṇadēvi's Sasanam of Koṇḍaviḍu.

These Śiṣṭakarnams took up ministerial positions in these parts during the time of Jagadebs of Kadamba dynasty and they also became famous for their education and upholding the honour of Utkals.

## GAUTAMIPUTRA SRI SATAKARNI

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Nasik cave No. 3, has several Prakrit inscrs. referring to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. He is called the uprooter of Kshaharāṭa family and restorer of the glory of Śātavāhana race. By the first epithet, we may note that he destroyed the Kshaharāṭa clan that ruled over Mahārāshtra, Gujrat and C. India and thus restored Śātavāhana rule over Western-India. The Jogaltambi hoard of coins discovered (Total No. 13, 250) suggests that he turned his arms against Nahapāṇa, the King of Kshaharāṭas and killed him.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the number consists of Nahapana's own coins, while the rest consists of Nahapana's coins restruck by Gautamī-putra - Śātakarṇi. There is not a single coin of any other Prince but Nahapana's and the evidence supplied by this hoard of coins is conclusive that Śātakarṇi destroyed Nahapana and his race about 120 A.D.

The Nasik cave inscriptions tell us that he ruled over the whole country watered by the R. Godavari, Berar, Malwa, Mahārāshtra, Guzerat and Konkan. The finds of coins in the Godavari and the Krishna Valleys, Mālwa and other places also prove the same. Vāsisthīputra Pulumavi was ruling in the west over Mahārāshtradesa with Paithon as capital, as mentioned by Ptolemy, when his father, Gautamīputra was ruling over the old Andhra Desa. (Dhanakāta) After the death of the latter in or about 130 A. D., Pulumavi succeeded to the whole of Andhradesa. An inscription found at Amarāvati refers to his reign. Coins of this King were obtained by me at Amarāvati and Gudivada in 1924 and they bear the legend *Sī ri Va si* or Sri Vasisthīputra Pulumāvi as he is called. After his death in 158 A.D. his successors, Siva Sri and Chanda Sri ruled over Krishna and Godavari Districts and the coins of the latter (coins resembling in style those of Pulumavi) have been found in Godavari District. The next Kings, Siri Satakani and Siri, Yajña ruled over both Mahārāshtra and Andhra Dēsa for, their inscriptions and coins also are found both in the West and the East. Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi was a powerful king, for his Empire extended beyond the Vindhya as is shown by the find spots of his coins. His coins were found not only in Guzerat but also in Kathiawar and E. Malwa. Probably, he reconquered those provinces from the Kshatrapa Dynasty of Ujjain. After Yajña Siri Satakārṇi, the Śātavāhana kings seem to have lost their control over Mahārāshtradesa for, we find the inscriptions and coins of certain Abhira Kings alone in the Western provinces. This may be about 190 A.D.

The Andhra King, Gauṭamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi boasted of having uprooted the entire Kshaharāta family and defeated Nahapana who was a Śāka and ruled over W. Deccan, N. Konkan, Guzerat, Sourāṣṭra and Cutch, some of which were once comprised in the Andhra Empire but which were conquered by Nahapana. The Andhra victory is proved from Nasik cave inscriptions. The provinces which were thus reconquered by Śātakarṇi were probably placed under the control of Chastana and Jayadaman who were both of Saka origin and who probably ruled as Kṣatrapas or, Viceroys under the Andhras. The coins of these Satrap princes attest to this fact. However, during the time of the third Satrap, Rudradaman, the Andhras were again defeated. This is attested by his Junagadh inscription, in which he refers to '*Sevayam abhigata Mahākshātrapa nāmnaḥ.*' Evidently, the West and the North parts of the Andhra Empire passed under Western Satrāps during the middle of 2nd century A. D. and so, the successors of Vāsistīputra Pulumāvi began to rule only over the Central and the Eastern parts of the Dekkan, where their inscriptions and coins are found in large numbers.

The Eastern Dekkan was still ruled over by the Śātavāhanas for one or two generations more. Coins of Sri Rudra, Sri Krishna, Sri Chandra and other Kings were found in Krishna and Godāvari Districts as well as in Central Provinces, but not in Western India. About the middle of the third century A.D., the Śātavāhanas ceased to be independent rulers over the E. Dekkan also. The Ikshvakus are said to have succeeded the Andhras. The Puranas mention the Ikshvakus as Andhrabhrityas and the Jaggayapeta Inscription tells us that Sri Vira Purushadatta of Ikshvaku race was the Rajah of the country. The Ikshvakus are a Northern dynasty and probably in the third century A. D. they penetrated into the Dekkan and established their power at the expense of the Śātavāhanas.

From the coins discovered in Kolhāpūr in the West and those discovered in Krishna Valley, we see certain differences in types and legends. The coins found in the Western region contain certain titles like Vilivāyakura, and Sivālakura and Dr. Bhandarkar has identified them with the names of viceroys who ruled over West Andhra country but who paid homage to the Kings at Dhānyakaṭaka. Most of the Andhra coins discovered both in the East and in the West, contain the Chaitya symbol on the obverse and the cross and balls called 'Ujjain symbol' on the reverse. The chaitya symbol is a Buddhist symbol and the Andhras who were Buddhist Patrons had it on their coins. Chāstana and Jayadāman, the Śāka Śātraps had also the same symbols on their coins and this may suggest to us that they were the viceroys under the Andhra kings. Most of the coins discovered in Malwa bear the symbol "cross and balls" and this suggest to us that that country was under Andhra control before Śāka conquest.

An inscription in Nasik cave No. 3 dated in the 18th regnal year of Gautamiputra Śrī Śatakarni informs us that the edict was issued, from the victorious camp of the army at Vaijayanti or Banavasi to Vishnupālita, the minister of Gōvardhana (Nasik) district, by the king who is styled as the Lord of Benākāṭaka (Dhanakataka or Amarāvati) and Gōvardhana, to the effect that a field of 200 Nivartanas (measures) of land in the village of Aparakhakali formerly belonging to Rshabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna but now under his enjoyment, should be granted free of all obstacles—*apavēśa*, *anomarsa*, *alavanakhādaka*, *arāśṭrasavinayika*,—to the monks of Triraśmi hill.

The oral order issued by the king to Vishnupālita, the minister of Nasik was written by Śiva Gupta, protected by Mahāswāmī, and inscribed by Tāpasī.

Another inscription, inscribed below the one noted above, records an order given to Śyameka, the minister of Gōvardhana or Nasik by the same king and his mother Gautami Balasri Mahadevi, to the effect that since the field of 100 Nivartanas in Kakhadi village formerly granted to the Bhikshus living the Dharmasetu cave constructed by Mahadevi on Triraśmi hill is useless and nobody is living in the village, land of 100 Nivartanas in Nagarasīma (Nasik) royal field should be granted free of all obstacles.

The oral order originally given was reduced to writing by Pratīhari (door keeper) Loratārya in the 24th regnal year of the king.

Nasik cave No. 3 contains an inscription of Queen Balaśri, mother of Śatakarni and grand mother of Puṣumavi dated in the 19th regnal year of which records the grant of Puṣumavi, Nasik cave No. 3 to Bhadrāyanīya sect of Buddhist monks. At the same time, the village of Sudasana in Govardhana District was granted for the maintenance of the monks of third cave by the lord of Dhanamkṛta (Gautamiputra Satakarni) and the village of Pisa Jipadaka by Puṣumavi for painting it. In the 22nd year, in lieu of Sudasana, the village of Samalipada was given by Puṣumavi. Queen Balasri's inscription describes the exploits of her son who is styled Kshatriyadarpa māna mardana, (crusher of the pride and respect of the kshatriyas), Śaka Yāvana Palhava nistudana, (killer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pālhas), Khakharāṭa-vamśa niravasēshakara, (complete destroyer of the dynasty of khakharāṭas) and Śatavāhana kula yaśa pratishṭāpanakara (Founder of the glory of Śatavāhana clan). He is said to have conquered Asika (Rṣikas of Dakshinapatha), Asaka (Asmakas of lower Godavari, or Asvakas of N. W. region?) Mulaka (Paithan or Pratishṭhānapura), Surāṭha or Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Kukura (Guzerat), Aparanta (N. Konkan), Anūpa (Mahishmati), Vidarbha (W. Berar), Ākara (E. Malwa), and Avanti (W. Malwa).



He is also said to be the lord of the mountains, Vijha (E. Vindhya), Achhavata or Rkshavat (Satpura), Parivāt or Pāriyātra (W. Vindhya), Sahya or Sahyādri (N. part of W. Ghats), Kapthagiri or Krishnagiri, (W. part of W. Ghats) Maca, Siritana (Srisailla.) Malaya (S. part of W. Ghats), Mahinda or Mahendra (E. Ghats), Setagiri or Svetagiri, and Chakora.

From the above account, it is clear that Gautamiputra Śrī Śāta-karni ruled over the whole of the Dekkan extending from Malwa to Mysore and from sea to sea. He established the glory of his line by defeating *Kshaharātās*, *Śākas*, *Yāvanas*, and *Pāhlavas*, all termed as *Mlechhas* or foreigners. He also established the rules of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* (caste). Though he was a Brahmanical Hindu, he patronised Buddhism by constructing caves for Buddhist monks and endowing them richly.

The inscriptions and coins of the king clearly show that the Empire was divided into several *Rāshtras* or provinces and each province into *Vishayas* or Districts and each district into several of *Gramas* or villages. There was a hierarchy of officials with several grades. Lands were measured carefully and assessed according to fertility. The use of money was known. There were merchant guilds which organised trade and banking. There were also guilds for the several crafts. There was an efficient army led by the king or his trusted ministers.

Architecture and sculpture received royal attention. The excavations in Salsette afford the most perfect specimens of buildings, e.g. stupas, caves, chaityas, monasteries, tanks, and cisterns—all made of stone. The grant of a village by Balasri was made for painting a cave probably with scenes taken from Jatakas. Towns were built and terraced buildings for kings and nobles. Trade and Commerce were brisk. The language of all inscriptions is Prakrit and both Brahmi and Kharosti scripts are used, the former mostly. Thus, there is ample evidence to prove that the Dekkan enjoyed a great civilisation in the 2nd century A D.

## BALLALA III. AND VIJAYANAGAR.

Dr. N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M. A., PH.D.

### I

The Rev. Father HENRI HERAS, S. J. after what seems to be a thorough and searching examination of all available evidence, has arrived at the conclusion that the city of Vijayanagar was founded by Ballāla III., the Hoysala King of Dvarasamudra.<sup>1</sup> The evidence which the Rev. Father utilises may be roughly classified under two heads: (1) Inscriptions, and (2) Chronicles. We do not propose to discuss the epigraphical aspect of the problem in the present paper. We proceed to examine the way in which Father Heras has exploited the information contained in the chronicles. They are two in number: (1) *Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz*, and (2) *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* by Mahomed Kāsim Ferishta. Nuniz resided in Vijayanagar in the first half of the 16th century; and his work "contains the traditional history of the country gathered first hand on the spot, and a narrative of local and current events of the highest importance, known to him either because he himself was present or because he received the information from those who were so." It was "composed by Nuniz about the year 1536 or 1537".<sup>2</sup> Mahomed Kasim Ferishta "was born about the year 1570", "at Astrabad, on the border of the Caspian Sea". He migrated to India with his father, Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, and reached Ahmudnuggur about 1582. He left Ahmudnuggur for good after 1587, and reached Bijāpūr "in the year 1589", where he entered the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. "Ferishta seems to have finished his account of the Bijāpūr Kings in 1596."<sup>3</sup> One would expect a historian to attach greater value to the account of Nuniz who not only resided for sometime at Vijayanagar while the city was still the seat of the Hindu Empire but "composed" his work some *Sixty* years before Ferishta. But, not so Father Heras. He accepts Ferishta's account as more trustworthy than that of Nuniz, and he explains the reasons for his preference:

"Bijāpur was indeed", says he, 'the best city of Deccan for obtaining information about Vijayanagar.....The tradition respecting Vijayanagar.....was undoubtedly alive in the Adil Shāhi capital.....He (Ferishta),

1 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*

2 Sewell; *Forgotten Empire*: preface p. 7

3 Brigg's *Ferishta* I p. XXXIX to XLIII

therefore, had the best oral tradition possible, and the ancient Mussalman chronicles as the source of his information."<sup>4</sup>

The reasons of Father Heras in accepting Ferishta's account in preference to that of Nuniz are thus two in number,

(1) Bijāpur where Ferishta came to live in the last quarter of the 16th century was *'the best city of Decan for obtaining information about Vijayanagar.'*

(2) Ferishta had *"the best oral tradition possible and the ancient Mussalman chronicles as the source of his information."*

It is rather strange that the Rev. Father Heras should have accepted "the oral tradition" recorded by Ferishta, although he brushes aside tradition drawn from the Telugu and the Canarese sources. Some Muhammadan chronicles which have come down to our own day contradict the history of Ferishta in several places; and wherever it can be tested by the evidence of inscriptions, it is found to be a record of "palpable falsehoods."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we are not able to repose the same amount of confidence in Ferishta as the Rev. Heras is inclined to do. To correct the inaccuracies and mis-statements of Ferishta one would have to write a bulky tome, but for the present we may offer the reader a few select instances to illustrate our point.

## II

FERISHTA.	NUNIZ.	MODERN HISTORI- ANS (Based upon inscriptions).
1. "The government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family in uninterrupted succession for seven hundred years, when Shew Ray dying, he was succeeded by his son a minor, who did not long survive him, and left the throne to a younger brother. Not long after, died also leaving an infant only of three months old. Timrāj one of the principal Ministers of the family celebrated for his wisdom and experience, became sole	According to Nuniz, the kingdom of Bisnaga was founded sometime after A.D. 1330. Ten kings reigned in the city before the usurpation of Narasymgna:— 1. Dehorao ruled for 7 ys. 2. Bucarao .. .. 37 .. 3. Pureoyre Desrao., x. .. 4. Ajarao .. for 43 .. 5. Visarao .. 6 .. 6. Deorao .. 25 .. 7. Pinarao .. 12 .. 8. <i>Names king</i> .. x .. 9. Verupacrao .. x .. 10. Padearao .. x ..	The kingdom was founded by Harihara I. in 1361 & he was succeeded by his brother Bukka I. in 1356. And Bukka I. ruled until 1378. His descendants ruled at Vijayanagar until A.D. 1487. Therefore, the kings of the first dynasty reigned for (1487—1336)=151 years. Sāluva Narasimha

<sup>4</sup> *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*

<sup>5</sup> Heras *'Aravida Dynasty'* p. 4. foot note 6.

regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years. On the occasion of the young king's attaining the age of manhood, Timrāj poisoned him, and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for retaining the regency in his hands. Timrāj at length dying, was succeeded in his office by his son Ramrāj who having married a daughter of Shew Rāy, added by that alliance greatly to his influence and Power."<sup>6</sup>

(The kings of the first dynasty ruled at Bisnaga for 130 + x + x + x + x. "The reign of Padaerao must have been very short. It appears to have lasted for a few months only. Allowing 10 years for each of the other three reigns whose duration is not stated by Nuniz, We get 130 + 30 = 160 years as the period for which the princes of the first dynasty ruled at Bisnaga.

Narasyingna ruled for 44 years. He had two young sons. At the time of his death, he appointed Narasa Naik, his general as the regent of the kingdom and commanded him to place one of his two sons upon the throne. Narasa Naik enthroned his master's eldest son; but, as he was poisoned by Tymarasa, an enemy of the regent, he placed his master's second son upon the throne. He confined the young king to the fort of Penugonda, where he had him assassinated a few years later.

Narasa Naik became king, and he had five sons: (1) Busbalrao (2) Crishnarao (3) Tetarao (4) Ramygupa (5) Onamysyuaya. After the death of Narasa Naik, Busbablrao ascended the throne, and ruled for six years. He died. He was succeeded by Crisnarao. He governed the kingdom most gloriously, and died. And he was succeeded by his half-brother Tetarao.<sup>7</sup>

who usurped the throne in 1487 ruled until 1493. He was succeeded by his son Immadi Narasimha who occupied the throne until 1505 or 1506. Narasa Naik who was appointed by Sālūva Narasimha as the regent of the kingdom died in 1503. His son Vira-Narasimha succeeded him as the regent; later about 1506 he became the king & governed the kingdom until 1509. He was succeeded by Krishnadēvarāya who ruled with great glory until 1529-30 A. D. He was succeeded by his brother Achyutadēvarāya whose reign lasted until 1542 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Venkata I, who died shortly after; and he was succeeded by his cousin, Sadāśiva whose minister Rāmraj was.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ferishta III. pp. 80—81.

<sup>7</sup> *Forgotten Empire* pp. 291—395.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* pp. 16—290.

On a comparison of the above three accounts, that of Ferishta is found to be least trustworthy. The readers attention is drawn to the following points:--

(1) According to Ferishta, the first dynasty held sway over Vijayanagar for *Seven hundred* years without interruption; but we learn from inscriptions, on which all the modern accounts are based, that the kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded in or about 1336 A.D. and that the first or the Sangama dynasty came to an end in 1487 A.D. Therefore, the Sangama kings reigned for 1487-1336=151 years. The account of Nuniz is roughly in agreement with this. As the evidence of the inscriptions is most trustworthy, the statement of Ferishta must be rejected as worthless.

(2) Ferishta informs us that Shew Rāy died towards the closing years of the Sangama dynasty. He appears to believe that Shew Rāy was the last important member of the Sangama family; but neither the inscriptions nor Nuniz mention a king of this name who ruled at Vijayanagar. Even if we suppose that Sadāsiva might have been the original of Ferishta's Shew Rāy, we know that he was the last king of the Third dynasty and that he did not ascend the throne until A.D. 1543. Therefore Shew Rāy, the last Sangama king must be regarded as a myth whom the very imaginative brain of Ferishta appears to have conjured up.

(3) Even if we identify Ferishta's Shew Rāy with Sālūva Narasimha, as some writers have done, we have yet to account for the four youngsters who succeeded him. The two minor sons of Shew Rāy may be identified with the two minor sons of Sālūva Narasimha, viz Immaḍi Narasimha, and his elder brother; but the two other princes whom the regent Timrāj is said to have placed upon the throne have no room for accommodation. The inscriptions mention only Immaḍi Narasimha; but Nuniz speaks of this prince and of his elder brother. Ferishta appears to have multiplied these two princes into four for reasons best known only to himself.

(4) The regent's name according to Ferishta is Timrāj; but according to Nuniz and the inscriptions his name is Narasa Naik. Ferishta did not know even the name of the regent.

(5) We learn from Ferishta that Timrāj died sometime before A.D. 1535, and he was succeeded by his son Rāmrāj. Ferishta does not leave us in doubt about the identity of Rāmrāj. He is the same person who perished ultimately on the battle-field of Talikota. We understand from the inscriptions and Telugu literature that Rāmarāja's father was Śrīraṅga, a grandson of Āravīṭi Bukka. Śrīraṅga was but an obscure nobleman, and he was not even a minister. If we identify Ferishta's Timrāj with the regent Narasa Naik, Rāmrāja could not have been his son, Ferishta does not even allude to Narasa Naik's famous sons, Virāṇa Narasimha, Krishṇa, and Achyuta.

- (6) Rāmarāj is said to have married a daughter of Shew Ray. We know from the *Ramarājiyam* the names of the fathers of all the wives of Rāmarāja; and Shew Ray is not mentioned as one of them; but Tirumaladēvi, one of Rāmarāja's wives is said to have been as daughter of the famous emperor Krishnadēvarāya.

It is obvious from what is said above that Ferishta was almost totally ignorant of the history of Vijayanagar even during the century in which he lived. The Rev. Father Heras also admits that Ferishta's account contains "several palpable falsehoods" Ferishta, of course, does not mention Krishnadēvarāya by name. Although he describes Ibrahim Adil Shāh's defeat on the banks of the Krishna, he keeps a judicious silence over the events which followed the battle. He does not refer to the incarceration of the Bhāmini princes at Gulburga, and their subsequent release by Krishnadēvarāya. However, according to the contemporary writers, the last Bhāmini princes were imprisoned by Adil Shāh, and Krishnadēvarāya released them.<sup>9</sup>

FERISHTA.	NUNIZ	LAKSHMI-NARAYANA.
<p>ii. Muhammad 'Shah Bhamuny II. (IV) died in A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah II. The king was 'reduced to be a mere pensioner' by Ameer Bereed; he sold the crown-jewels; but Bereed put to death several people who were involved in the transaction. The king died in 1520. He was succeeded by Allauddin II. who contrived a plot to seize the minister; but the project failed. The Sultan was</p>	<p>Full of fury, he (Crisnarao) entered the kingdom of De- queen and marched against the city of Culburgura and destroyed it and razed the fortress to the ground, and the same with many other places. x x x x In this city of Cal burgura, in the fort-</p>	<p>Having crossed the river Krishna' (after the capture of Raichore), he burnt the country of the Mussulmans. He captured the forts of Ferozabad, Asanbad, Sagar &amp;c. Having vangui- shed Adil Shah at Kulburga, he</p>

9 This is mentioned by Nuniz in his History of Bismaga but his statement is considered untrustworthy as it is contradicted by the history of Ferishta. However we have it from another contemporary, of Krishnadevaraya that he set a liberty three Bhamini Princes from prison at Gulburga after he captured the place Bhandara Lakshminarayana the author of the *Sangita Suryodaya* who was the court musician of Krishnadeva alludes to this event.

కృష్ణాను తీర్వసోఽయం యవఃజనపదం వహ్ని సాక్షాత్కృత్వసోఽం

శ్లోకాబాద సంచారు సరసమఖ్యాని దుగ్ధాణిశిశానా

భజ్జోచ్చైః చారశీకం కళబాగపురింద్రా కృపావాన్మహాః

కృష్ణాను తీర్వసోఽయం యవఃజనపదం వహ్ని సాక్షాత్కృత్వసోఽం

deposed and murdered in prison. Wally Ulla succeeded him. Ameer Bereed conceived a passion for his queen; he poisoned the king, and married the queen. On his death, Kalim Ulla, a son of Ahmad II. by a daughter of Yossoof Adilkhan was placed upon the throne. He was confined to the palace; and in 1526, he escaped to Bijāpūr, and later on to Ahamadanagar.<sup>10</sup>

ress belonging to it, set at liberty, the king took three the three sons of the king of the (Bhāmini) Dequem. He made the eldest king of the kingdom of Dequem, his father being dead.....The other two brothers he took with him and gave them each one an allowance, to each one every year fifty thousand gold Pardaos; and he holds them and treats them as princes and great lords, as indeed they are."<sup>11</sup>

Lakshmīnārāyaṇa and Nūniz were contemporaries of Krishṇadēvarāya; and their evidence must be regarded as more trustworthy than that of Ferishta who came to live at Bijāpūr some sixty years later. Either Ferishta was ignorant of what had taken place, or he suppressed the truth and deliberately falsified history.

iii. Devarāya II and Allauddin II. The following pertains to their last war:—

FERISHTA.

ABDUR RAZAK.

"With this host he (Dēvarāya) resolved on conquering the Bhamuny kingdom; and accordingly, in the year 847 (A.D. 1443), having crossed the river Tungabhadra suddenly, he took the fortress of Mudkul, sent his sons to besiege Rachore and Bunkapore and encamped with his army along the bank of the Krishna. From hence, he sent detachments which plundered the country as far as Sagar and Bijāpūr laying it waste with fire and sword."<sup>12</sup>

A. D. 1443: About this time, the Danaik or minister .....departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulburga. Sultan Allauddin Ahmad Shah, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rai, and the murder of the principal officers of the state was exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message: "Pay me 700,000 *Varāhas*, or I will send a world subduing army into your country, and will extirpate idolatry from its lowest foundations". Deo

Rai, king of Bijanagar was troubled and angered at this demand and said, "Since I am alive what occasion is there if some servants have been slain?...If my enemies have conceived that weakness, loss, insecurity, and calamity have fallen upon me, they are mistaken. I am shielded by a powerful and auspicious star, and fortune is favourable to me. Now, let all that my enemy can seize from out of my dominions be considered

10 *Ferishta II* pp. 558—59

11 *Forgotten Empire* pp. 357—8

12 *The Bhārati II* No. 3 p 66.

13 *Ferishta II* p 432

as booty, and made over to his Sayyids and professors; as far as me, all that I can take from his kingdom, I will make over to my falconers and brahmins." So, on both sides, armies were sent into other's country, and committed great devastations."<sup>14</sup>

Both the writers whom we have cited above are Mussalmans. Abdur Razzak was a contemporary of Dēvarāya II, and was actually present at Vijayanagar while this war was being fought. Therefore, his account of the war is to be preferred to that of Ferishta who lived at Bijāpūr 146 years later. Here is an other instance where Ferishta falsifies history in the interests of his co-religionists.

iv. Mujāhid and Kishen Rāy: —

FERISHTA.

SAVYID ALI.

TAZKARAT-UL-MULK.

"He also wrote to Kishen Rāy, the Rāja of Beejnuggur that as some forts and districts between the Krishna and Tungabhadra were held in by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, it was expected the Rāja would, for the future forego his claims to all territory east of the Tungabhadra together with the fort of Bunkapore and some other places. Kishen Roy in reply to this demand said that the forts of Rāchōre and Mudkal, and others between the rivers had for ages belonged to his family; that the king would do wisely, therefore to surrender them, confine his boundary to the north bank of the Krishna &c."

Mujahid Shah took the field in person, and arrived at Beejnuggur. The Hindus fled

"The Sultan took it into his head to exterminate the idolatry of Vijayanagar and to wage a religious war against the infidels. So with a numerous army and elephants..... He proceeded towards Vijayanagar.

When the Raya, Kapzah, who was the leader of the lords of hell, heard of the approach of the Sultan's army, being hopeless of retaining his life and possessions, was excessively terrified, and shut himself in the

Mujāhid Shah, "contemplated waging a *jihād* against the infidels in order to add splendour to the army of Islam... Mujāhid daily busied himself in organizing his army and then proceeded against the fort of Adoni with a large force, and laid siege to it for a year, when the garrison running short of water asked for quarter; and the Governor of the fort came out, and after obtaining a written treaty returned to the fort with Mujahid Shah's deputy, in order to evacuate and surrender the fort."

"On that same night heavy rain fell, and the fort became well supplied with water. The garrison regretted having made



before the Muslim troops. The Sultan pursued them through woods "to Seeta Bund Rameswar" Kishen Roy returned to Beejnuggar closely pursued by the Muhammadans. Mujāhid entered the streets of the town; but was strongly opposed by the Hindus. He fought a duel with a Hindu whom he slew. A general action was fought after which the Mussalmans withdrew. Peace was concluded. As Mujahid was returning to Kulburga, he was assassinated by his uncle Daud Khan.<sup>15</sup>

fort... As a matter of necessity, the above mentioned "the fort. They cut off the head of Mujāhid" Shah's deputy, and putting it into a gun, fired it towards the army of Mujahid Shah."

and distinguished "When Mujahid heard of the resistance of the officers; and they representing their weakness and despair, and professing obedience and submission, agreed to pay a large sum of *nal* 'hara into the royal treasury; also to deliver

over to the agent of the court the keys of the fortress which was the cause of the hostilities and dispute." After this, as the Sultan was returning to Kulburga he was assassinated by his cousin Da'ud khan.<sup>16</sup>

The three Mussalman writers whom we cited above do not agree, except on one or two points, in describing the events connected with the war. There is only one point on which they completely agree, *viz* that Mujāhid Shah invaded Vijayanagar territory. Regarding the causes of the war Ferishta mentions only the disagreement about the boundaries. This appears to have been a mere pretext. the real cause 'being a desire to wage *jihad* or religious war against the infidels in order to add splendour to the army of Islam,' Here the agreement stops.

According to Ferishta, the Raya of Vijayanagar at the time of Mujahid's invasion was Kishen Roy or Krishṇa Raya but according to Sayyid Ali, he was called kapzah (Buk-Kapa-Shah). There was only one king of the name of Krishnarāya at Vijayanagar, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1509 i.e. 123 years after Mujahid's death. In making Krishnarāya a contemporary of Mujahid, Ferishta has betrayed his

<sup>15</sup> *Ferishta II* pp 328—41

<sup>16</sup> *Burhan i-ma'asir*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

appalling ignorance of the chronology of the Kings of Vijayanagar. Sayyid Ali gives more or less accurately the name of the Rāya who was the contemporary of Mujāhid. He calls him Kapzah who has correctly been identified with Bukka I.<sup>18</sup> In fact, the reign of Bukka I. lasted until 1378 A.D.

Regarding the war, the following is the summary of Ferishta's account : Mujāhid Shah took the field in person, and arrived at Beejnugar. The Hindus fled before the Muslim troops. The Sultan pursued them through the wood to "Seeta Bund Rāmēśvar". Kishen Roy then returned to Beejnugur, and was closely pursued by the Muhammadans &c.

Sayyid Ali's account differs considerably from that of Ferishta. He does not mention the City of Vijayanagar in connection with Mujāhid's war; but he declares that Kapzah who shut himself within the fort had submitted to the Sultan without fighting. Then the Sultan returned to his kingdom. The account of *Tazkarat-ul-Mulk* differs considerably from the other two. Mujāhid who laid seige to the fort of Ādōni very nearly succeeded in taking it; but owing to the fall of rain, he was balked of his prey, and had to return to his capital Ahsanbād. The account of *Tazkarat-ul-Mulk* is more trustworthy than those of Sayyid Ali and Ferishta. Mujāhid's pursuit of the King of Vijayanagar has been declared improbable.<sup>19</sup> It is doubtful whether he actually reached the capital of the Hindu Kingdom. There are very strong reasons for believing that the fighting centred round the fortress of Ādōni and that the Muhammadans had to retire to their country utterly discomfited. So much we learn from an inscription of 1380 A.D. "When the *Turushkas* were swarming over Ādavani *durga* and kingdom," Chennappa Odeyar, a nephew of Harihara II, "conquered those *Turushakas*, took possession of the *durgā* (fort) and the kingdom (*rājya*), and gave them to Harihara Rāya"<sup>20</sup> He is also said to have wrested "from the hands of the Yavanas, the territory they had seized, and presented (it) as an *upāyana* to Harihara"<sup>21</sup> Although the inscription is dated in 1380 A.D., the events which it records, should have taken place some two years earlier.<sup>22</sup>

It is said in the inscription that Chennappa Odeyar after his victory over the Mussalmans "recieved a kingdom of his own, and

18 *The Sangama Eynasty* by M. S. Sarma (unpublished)\*

19 Swell *The Forgotten Empire* p 42

20 *Ep. Car. XII* kg. 43.

21 *Ibid.*

22 According to *Burhan-i-ma'asir*, the king of Vijayanagar at the time of Mujahid's invasion in A.D. 1378 was Kapza or Bukka I. A.D. 1378 was the last year of Bukka's reign. There was no Muhammadan attack upon vijayanagar kingdom not to speak of Adoni between 1378 and 1380 i.e. the date of the present inscription Therefore the seige of Adoni referred to in the inscription must have taken place in 1378 A.D

was at peace.<sup>23</sup> More over, it informs us that Harihararāya " had again established the kingdom acquired by his father. " <sup>24</sup> This refers to the conquest of the territory between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna, and of Konkan with its important port Goa. The conquest must have been completed in 1380. We know from an inscription dated in 1379 A.D. <sup>25</sup> that Harihara's army was already conquering certain parts of Konkan. The Vijayanagar army could not have invaded Konkan, unless the Muhammadans were expelled from Ādōni and its surroundings sometime earlier. Therefore, K G 43 must be taken as referring to the siege of Ādōni by Mujāhid Shah in A. D. 1378. Taking advantage of the defeat of the Muhammadan army, and the subsequent confusion at Gulburga caused by the assassination of Mujāhid, Harihara II invaded the *doab*, and Konkan which he easily conquered.

Thus, in the four instances we have chosen, Ferishta's account is shown to be untrustworthy, either on account of his ignorance of the events or due to his tendency to deliberately falsify history in the interests of the Mussalmans. A writer who betrays ignorance of the history of Vijayanagar even during the century in which he lived cannot be regarded as a trustworthy authority upon the events connected with its early days. The very fact that he mentions Kishen Roy as a contemporary Muhammad I, and Mujāhid is a sufficient proof of his gross ignorance. In spite of this, the Rev. Father Heras accepts him as a most reliable authority regarding the circumstances under which the City of Vijayanagar was founded. Even here, he cannot be trusted! And the Rev. Father Heras has leaned upon a broken reed. Ferishta informs us that " Bilal Dew convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved first, to secure the forts of his own country and then remove the seat among the Muhammadans... Bilal Dew, accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called after his son Beeja to which the word 'nuggur' or city was added, so that it is now known by the name of Beejnuggur. " <sup>26</sup> Therefore, Ferishta attributes in this passage the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar to Ballala III. However in the following passage, he mentions a king of Dorasamudra who was an ally of Ballāla III.

" Bilal Dew and Kishen Naig united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Mabir and Dwārasamudra, who were formerly tributary to the Government of Carnatic. " <sup>27</sup>

It is obvious that according to Ferishta, the Raja of Dwārasamudra was different from Bilal Dew, the Raja of Carnatic; but Dwārasamudra

<sup>23</sup> *Ep. Carn. XII* Kg 43

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> *Ep. Carn. X* Kl 113

<sup>26</sup> *Ferishta I* p. 427

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

was the capital of Ballala III. until his death in A. D. 1342. The remarks of Father Heras are noteworthy :

" There is nevertheless one slight confusion in his account. Bilal Dew is alluded by Ferishta "Raja of Carnatic"; but he does not identify him with the Raja of Dwarsamoodra (Dorasamudra), for a little afterwards he speaks of an alliance between Bilal Dew, and Rājas of Mabīr and Dwarsamoodra. *The chronicler most likely did not know that the Raja of Carnatic then, Ballala III. held his court and capital at Dwārasamudra itself.*<sup>28</sup>

The Rev. Father Heras has, therefore, to admit that Ferishta was ignorant of what he was writing about. Yet, he declares, " In any case, Ballala III. is said to have built the city of Vijayanagar, calling it after his son Beeja or Vijaya".<sup>29</sup> That is enough for him. He does not pay any heed to tradition, literature, and contemporary lithic records which unanimously attribute the building of the city to Harihara I, Bukka I, or their spiritual adviser Vidyāranya. He is prepared to ignore the total absence of epigraphic evidence regarding Ballāla III's building of the city. We may, however, be excused if we decline to accept the recommendation of Father Heras about the accuracy and veracity of Ferishta as a historian.

### III

After an examination of Nuniz's account of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar, the Rev. Father Heras rejects most of it as worthless for reasons which we do not propose to consider at present. We are, however, interested, in this connection, in what he accepts as true. He says, " One event stands out clear, and uncontradicted by other historical documents. This event is the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar by a king who had been imprisoned by the Delhi Mussalmans, taken as a prisoner to their northern capital, and then sent back to his country in the south."<sup>30</sup> Then he attempts to show that the monarch referred to was Ballāla III. " Does Southern Indian History," asks the Rev. Father, " commemorate any such monarch in the first half of the XIV century?"<sup>31</sup> He answers this question in the affirmative. " Vīra Ballāla III. seems to be the king pointed out by Nūniz as the founder of the city of Vijayanagar."<sup>32</sup> He cites the following to prove his contention.

<sup>28</sup> *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* p. 44

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* p. 41

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid* pp 41—42

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid* p 42

(1) "Ferishta relates that in the year 710 H.E., corresponding to A.D. 1310," Malik Kafur defeated "Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic", "took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory." 33

(2) "An inscription of Shimoga Taluka informs us that 'after the Turuka war, on the occasion of his son Vira-Ballāla-Rāya (returning) from Dillī and entering the city (on 6 May, 1313) he released the taxes old and new.'" 34

"Ballāla III, therefore, was taken prisoner to Delhi, and afterwards released by the Sultan." 35

These demand careful scrutiny:—It is true that Malik Kafur took Bilal Dew prisoner: but there is nothing in Ferishta to show that "he had been taken as a prisoner to their northern capital" Delhi. Ferishta informs us that "Mallik Kafoor returned to Delhy" in 710 H.E. corresponding to A.D. 1311. "He presented the king with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96000 maunds of Gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects." 36 Ferishta, however, does not mention any prisoner in this connection, not to speak of a distinguished person like Ballāla III. The evidence of the inscriptions also contradicts the statement that Ballāla III. had been taken as a prisoner to Delhi. In the inscriptions which are dated in 1311, 1312, and 1313 A.D., Ballāla III. is described as ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and happiness. Therefore, there is no support for the contention of Father Heras that Ballāla III. "was taken as a prisoner to Delhi." 37

The Shimoga inscription which Father Heras cites to clinch his argument does not at all refer to Ballāla III. The text of the inscription runs as follows:

స్వస్తి శ్రీ మత్పతాపచక్రవర్తి హాయిసలా శ్రీ వీరబల్లాళదేవరాయ సుఖ  
రాజ్యంగైయ్యుత్తమిరె తురకవిగ్రహాదల్లిడ్డిలి యందసుకళు వీర బల్లాళరాయ  
పటలా ప్రవేశనూదురవసరదల్లి । ప్రసూది (శం) త్వరజేష్టు సుధనశమియల్లి  
కూడలియ రాసువాత దేవరిగె...ధా రాపూర్వ మాడిగ ధన్యు ॥ 38

Father Heras tells us that Vira-Ballāla Rāya who returned from Delhi is Ballāla III; but this statement is not borne out by the inscription itself. Vira-Ballāla-Rāya who returned from Delhi on 6th May, A.D. 1313 was not the reigning Hoysala King. It was his father called

33 *Ibid*

34 *Ibid*

35 *Ibid*

36 *Ferishta* I p. 372

37 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* p. 42

38 *Ep. Carn. VII* 8h 68

Hoysana Vira-Ballāla Dēvarasa who was reigning in A.D. 1313, and he made a grant in honour of the arrival of his son. Therefore, the person who returned from Delhi in 1313 was not a king but only a prince. If we accept the statement of the Rev. Father, we have to believe that the father of Ballāla III. was called Vira-Ballāla Devarasa; but this view is contradicted by the inscriptions according to which the father of Ballāla III. was Narasimha III. The former had a son called Virūpāksha Ballāla. Therefore, the Vira-Ballāla-Rāya, who, according to the present inscription, returned from Delhi in 1313 A.D., could not be Ballāla III. Again, the inscription is dated on 6th May 1313 A.D. We know from the inscriptions of Ballāla III that his reign extended from A.D. 1292 to 1342. Therefore, Vira-Ballāla-Dēvarasa, the donor of the inscription under consideration, should be identified with Ballāla III., and Vira-Ballāla-Rāya who returned from Delhi with Virūpāksha Ballāla (the future Ballāla IV.) It is now evident that Vira-Ballāla III could not have been the king "pointed out by Nūniz as the founder of the city of Vijayanagar." The Rev. Father Heras could not have been unaware of these facts. Why he put this strange interpretation on the text of the inscription is not quite intelligible. This, however, is not the only thing of its kind.

To prove that Hosapaṭṭana is identical with Vijayanagar, Father Heras proceeds thus:—

"Now, it is a fact that the form Hosapaṭṭana does not appear in the inscriptions of Harihara I. In one of his inscriptions of the year 1340 found very recently Hosa-Hampeya Paṭṭana is mentioned. Hence, Vijayanagara in the time of Harihara I was popularly called Hosa-Hampeyapaṭṭana, New city of Hampe."<sup>39</sup>

It is true that in an inscription of 1340 A.D., a city called Hosa-Hampeya-Paṭṭana is said to have been mentioned. The inscription (*Ep. No. 102/1927*)<sup>40</sup> in which the name Hosa-Hampeya-paṭṭana is said to appear is very much damaged, and the stone where the name occurs has peeled off in two places resulting in the disappearance of two or three letters. Consequently the name, Hosa-Hampeyan-Paṭṭana is only a conjectural restoration by the epigraphist, who is not at all certain of the correctness of his reading. The Rev Father Heras pounces upon this guess of the epigraphist and attempts to turn it to his own advantage. In his eagerness to catch at a straw, he seems to abandon his duty as a historian. The

<sup>39</sup> *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* 57—58

<sup>40</sup> The inscription is referred to in the *Beginnings of Vijayanagar History* thus:—"South Indian Epigraphy Report 1927 p 112 No. 88" The reference is wrong the correct serial number of the inscription is 102 of 1927 The page is 113 and not 112.

inscription (*Ep. No.* 102/1927) is not "one of his (Harihara's) inscriptions," as Father Heras would have us believe. According to the *Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1927, p 113, the inscription belongs to the reign of the Hoysala king, Vira-Ballāla, the son of Vira-Narasīnga who had his head-quarters in Dorasamudra". It "mentions a *Mahāsāmanta* of the King of the name of Bommeya Nāyaka, governing the Nidugala-*rājya*, and mentions Hosa-Hampeya-paṭṭāna." There is absolutely no reference to Harihara in it. Again, Hosa-Hampeya-paṭṭāna even if it were the correct name, could not have been the same town as Hampe; for "Hosa-Hampeya-paṭṭāna" does not mean "the New city of Hampe"; but it must be rendered as "the city of New Hampe", which could not have been the same as the Hampe on the Tungabhadra. Moreover, Hosa-Hampeya-Paṭṭāna was included in the Nidugala-*rājya*, and in 1343 A.D. Hampe ought to have been the head-quarters of the *Hampe-Hastināvati-rājya*. If Hampe and Hosa-Hampeya-Paṭṭāna were one and the same, the latter could not have been a provincial town in the appanage of a noble Bommeya Nāyaka of Ballāla III.'s court; for it was already in 1340, the capital of Harihara I. who could not have been a dependent of Bommeya-Nāyaka. Therefore, the identification of Hosa-Hampeya-Paṭṭāna with Hampe is not sound. Be that as it may. The most interesting point to be noted in this context is the daring attempt made by the Rev. Father Heras to foist this inscription (*Ep. No.* 102/1927) upon Harihara I. It is not possible for us to understand the reasons which prompted him to put the strange interpretations upon the inscriptions which have absolutely no bearing upon the subject. It may, however, be noted that they are embodied in a series of lectures which the Rev. Father has delivered 'at the University of Mysore,' for which act of kindness, he publicly offers his thankfulness to Mysoreans, by publishing them in a book form!<sup>41</sup> We refrain from suggesting any explanation.

41 *The Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*: Preface.

## REVIEWS.

### „Jirna Vijayanagara Charitramu.

This book in simple, easy showing Telugu, is an attempt by the author Mr. Kundūri Īśwar Dutt to present the history of Vijayanagar in an impressive manner and to bring home to the mind of the stay at home Andhra, the magnificence of the "city of victory" by giving a description of its ruins. The author also adds at the beginning a chapter dealing with the origin of Vijayanagar which though a one sided discussion seems to have been well done. The historical portion is brief but serves as a very good introduction to the beginner. The author has put in many photographs of Vijayanagar ruins and the instructive value of the book is greatly enhanced thereby. We only wish that the next edition of the book would contain a fuller discussion of the several views with regard to the origin of the empire and an account of its Literary, Social and Religious development under the various dynasties. We congratulate the author for the production of a valuable introductory work on the Vijayanagar which is a subject of ever absorbing interest.

M.R.

### The Kaifiyat of Tadipatri.

Though the Local Records and the other manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection have received very little attention, some scholars think that they are not worthy and useful sources of past history. The falsity theory of the entire unreliability and unworthiness of the records of that Collection has been exposed by Dr. N. Venkata Ramaniah in his studied and valuable work "Karikāla and Trilōchana". Mr. M. Sōma śekhara Śarma, the Editor of the work under review follows up this line and shows in a convincing way, how an intelligent study of the Local Histories known as *kaifiats*, can bring useful facts to lights. He gives at the beginning, a short account of Col. Mackenzie's method of collecting these records and discusses how the subjects covered by them differ from those of a modern Historical Records. The main concern of these local histories is the origin of the village, its Puranic or other connections, the



charities of Parīkshits or Janamējayas, the association of the locality with the residence of great sages, temples and other beneficial institutions set up by rulers of the *Kali* age and their subordinates etc., and finally the economic distributions of land and of the village services. The village of Tāḍipatri had its origin in the time of the Vijayanagar king Praudha dēva Rāya and was included in the Gandikōṭa Province. Yera Timmānāyaḍu, Agent over this Province was an active partisan of Aliya Rāma Rāya in his usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagar. Though in the middle of the 17th century Mir Jumla was the Agent, in the time of Abu Hasan Tāna Shah of Golconda, a certain Lingappa was sent to Tāḍipatri for economic reorganisation. After the fall of the Moguls the village was included in the Cuddapah-*Subha*. During the rule of the Nabobs of Cuddapah, the Maharattas infested Tāḍipatri twice and collected *chauth* and annexed this province. Then came the rule of Haider and Tippoo, Towards the close of the 18 century the village of Tāḍipatri was included in the dominions of the Nizam and formed part of the districts ceded by him to the East India Company. Munro was the first principal Collector of the Tāḍipatri region. Mr. Sarma edits the *kaifiyat* in a well paragraphed order and with a valuable historical introduction. The booklet is of immense value for the construction of the later history of the Telugu Country. We congratulate the Editor for this laudable attempt, and hope he will bring to light many of these half-forgotten *kaifiyats*.

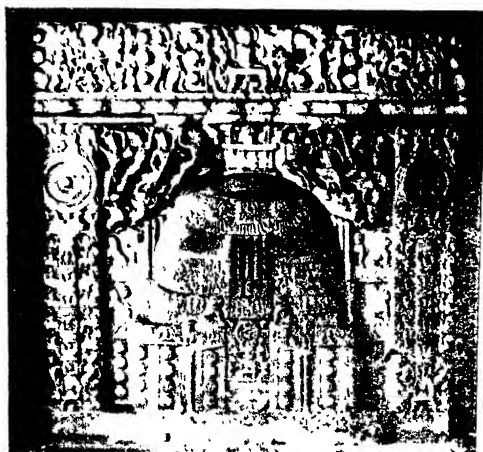
M. R.

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*Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.*

1931

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## ERRATA.

please correct page numbers 155 to 170 into 163 to 178 E1.





